

Pamphlets Vol. 292. (1)

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE POLITICAL
STATE OF THE CONTINENT,
&c. &c.

1799

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE POLITICAL 32

STATE OF THE CONTINENT,

SHOULD *FRANCE* BE SUFFERED

TO RETAIN HER

IMMENSE ACQUISITIONS,

IN WHICH IS REVIEWED,

HER WHOLE SYSTEM OF AGGRANDIZEMENT,

AND THE

PROBABLE ADVANTAGES WHICH SHE WILL

DERIVE FROM THE

SUBVERSION OF ITALY,

AND THE

POSSESSION OF BELGIUM,

ON THE

RETURN OF PEACE.

"Non ignota loquor."

LONDON :

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1799.

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LETTERS,

&c. &c.

LETTER I.

DEAR SIR,

I Believe that you will give me credit for the ardent zeal, by which I profess myself to be actuated for the happiness of mankind; and that when I assert, that a speedy conclusion of the present war is the nearest wish of my heart, you will not doubt the sincerity of my prayer.

But the issue of this dreadful contest cannot be a matter of indifference to any one, who is anxious for the public welfare; and who has been accustomed to reflect upon subjects of importance, as they have arisen to his view.

A peace that would retain the seeds of future contentions, and elevate a single state to a height of power that would prove formidable to Europe, must undoubtedly be considered as much more dangerous in itself than the continuation of hostilities; but, notwithstanding this convincing truth, we are daily in the habit of hearing senti-

ments expressive of that desire; and these are entertained even by men, by no means devoid of judgment in other matters of importance.

These suggestions must, therefore, be ascribed to the want of due reflection upon this subject, or proceed from the excessive benevolence of a feeling mind, or the want of a sufficient knowledge of the history of states and countries. Such persons have a very confined view of the political horizon.

It is a just observation that the greater part of the unthinking are apt to fix their eyes upon the present state of France, without any reference to the past, or anxiety for the future. All publications so limited in their views, conveying ideas so contracted in their nature, you have, with great propriety, considered as partial and uncandid, defective in principle, and devoid of argument; because they give a partial representation of the situation of affairs; of that only on one side.

You have expressed a desire to be made acquainted with my thoughts on the actual situation of affairs, and what I may suppose to be the future expectations of the several states of Europe from a peace concluded with France. If you expect to find my observation totally devoid of error, you expect too much. But I will venture to assure you, that my assertions shall be founded on proofs; and though casual mistakes may inadvertently ap-



pear, I am satisfied that these will not, in the least, undermine the principles upon which my opinions are founded. I will, then, as much as possible, endeavour to shun extremes, particularly such as many political writers have run into, for want either of candor or consideration.

Suppose yourself placed in the centre of civilized *Europe*, and fix your eyes not only on France, England, Holland, and Germany, but take in a view of the whole circle, by which these states are inclosed,—all so closely connected by agriculture and commerce; and, at the same time, call to mind the several principal epochs which have distinguished each of them. After this preparative state of mind it is that you can, with any degree of impartiality, answer the following question:

How stands now the equilibrium, *i. e.* the balance of Europe, as it regards the safety of its different states, and the future welfare of its respective inhabitants?

France had acquired, from the period of the union of its provinces, sometime previous to the reign of *Francis* the First, during, and immediately subsequent to his reign, a considerable preponderance, in the balance of Europe. Even at that time we have seen, that the Emperor Charles the Fifth, notwithstanding his vast possessions,

had not the internal strength to execute a powerful stroke against France, so disproportionably less; nor even the ability to make an obstinate resistance. And whence arose this impotence? From the physical advantages derived from the preference of its situation, and the incontestible will of its Monarch. Nature has been profuse in her favours towards France. The country is large and fertile; it is encompassed by two seas, and is cut through by several considerable rivers, and large canals; it is situate in the best climate; inhabited by a numerous * body of active, spirited,

* The population of Europe is considered to be as follows :

Portugal	—	—	2½ millions
Spain	—	—	7½
France	—	—	23 before the revolution
Great Britain	—	—	7
Ireland	—	—	2½
Holland and the Netherlands			5
Switzerland	—	—	1½
Italy	—	—	10
Denmark and Norway			2½
Sweden	—	—	2
Russia in Europe	—		24
Livonia and Courland			2
Poland	—	—	9½
Hungary, Austrian	—		3
— Turkish	—		2
European Turkey	—		8
Germany	—		24
			136 millions.

The population of *France*, before the revolution, was 23 millions, of which 2 millions, at least, have been lost by emigration, massacres

and courageous men, of the same language, manners, and customs. All its provinces are populous, and joined together in one circle.

Notwithstanding the prodigious extent of the dominions of Charles the Fifth, their superiority in point of riches and produce, they did not augment his power; they were separated, and dispersed on both parts of the globe, inhabited by different nations, not allied by a similitude of language, manners, or customs. But the inhabitants of France were like so many rays concentrating in one point of a circle; they had but *one will*,—the *will* of their ruler, who held them by a stricter bond than a monarchical government; and who, by the full and immediate support of the whole country thus circularly situated, was enabled to insure the success of his enterprize: whereas Charles the Fifth had to encounter difficulties formidable in the very outset; the distance of his

massacres and war. To the remaining 23 millions are now to be added: the inhabitants of the different countries annexed to *France*,—A part of *Holland*; the *Austrian Netherlands*; the *Prussian* States on the left bank of the *Rhine*; the Republics of *Cologne* and *Aix La Chapelle*; the principalities of *Liege*, *Stavelot*, and *Malmédy*; the part of *Germany* on the left bank of the *Rhine**; the principality of *Monaeco*; the counties *Nizza*, *Avignon*, and *Venaissin*; the islands of *Corfica* and *Malta*; the *Venetian* islands; *Cerigo*, *Zante*, *Zephalonia*, *Maura*, *Paxo*, *Corfu*, &c.—and the actual population of *France* will now be about 28 millions, which is more than the fifth part of inhabited *Europe*.

* The Republic of Geneva in Switzerland.

dominions ; the difference of the form of government by which the several states were regulated ; their separate opinions as to the consequences of any measure proposed. These obstacles, at that time, occasioned a failure in the joint efforts of the powers of Europe ; then united, with the design of dismembering France ; of which the empire remained, if considered in its whole extent, great and unimpaired, after a contest of thirty years, occasioned by a spirit of vain ambition.

Every state, Sir, has, in my opinion, its own physiognomy, if I may be allowed to use the expression, peculiar to itself : and as Lavater endeavoured to delineate the characters of the mind of men by the most striking features of the countenance, I, with the map in my hand, study the peculiar cast of every state, by their physical geography, which includes the nature of its inhabitants : and it appears to me, that a person well versed in this study, is less liable to err in his deductions, than the physiognomist already mentioned. Hence we may ascertain the genuine features of real and apparent strength ; of fierceness and formidability ; of rapacious inclinations and imperious sway ; of inactivity, impotence, indolence, &c.

In this respect, no country has a physiognomy more strikingly surprising to the contemplative mind, than that of France : consider its central

situation, which is the union-point of all civilized Europe. Every movement and change, both in the political and moral hemisphere, that affect the northern and southern parts of the globe are here collected as in a large *focus*; but every convulsion, every shock which France, in itself suffers or creates, darts with rapidity, radiant-like, in all directions, through every other country of Europe, and communicates * its sensation to the whole. The effect of this is more or less felt, according to the degree of susceptibility, enterprise, and impetuosity, by which one nation is distinguished from another. Now France is prin-

* The late Empress of *Russia*, *Catherine* the Second, publicly declared a similar opinion in 1778, at the time when the King of *Prussia* made war against *Austria*, and testified his resolution to maintain the *Germanic* constitution, at the time when the *Austrian* forces invaded *Bavaria*, under pretext that by the death of the Elector *Maximilian Joseph* in 1771, the 30th of December, *Bavaria* devolved to *Austria* as a lapsed fief; and as the succession from *Albert* of *Austria*. She said in her manifesto: "That the infract-
 " tion of the Court of *Vienna* exposed the whole *German* empire
 " to evident danger; that the fall of this empire would neces-
 " sarily occasion a violent commotion in all the neighbouring
 " states of *Germany*, a derangement of the order and equilibrium of all
 " *Europe*, and, perhaps, eventually prove dangerous to *Russia* itself.
 " That it was the duty of every * wise and prudent sovereign to foresee
 " and guard against such calamities." *Bavaria*, a large province of
Germany, situate near the *Rhine*, is, like France, a central situation
 of *Europe*.

* How inconsistent is this declaration of Her Majesty with her acts, as they respected the innovations of *France*; the effects of which may in time lead to greater calamities arising from *Russia*, rather than *Austria* possessing *Bavaria*.

cipally distinguished from the northern countries, by the two last characteristics. Fortunately for her, two principal circumstances already alluded to, coincide in her favour. She has the best climate in Europe, and a spontaneous soil. If united among themselves, there is not another individual empire on the civilized globe, that can operate with such a powerful decision, as the French can, in the concerns of Europe.

You will please to observe, that this eminent character of the exalted state, power, and greatness of France, is applicable only to her former condition. The great nation, as she is now called by her ruling powers, is, notwithstanding all her conquests, notwithstanding the enormous pillages committed by her upon her friends and enemies, nothing more than a dismal skeleton of *Old France*; nothing but a poor, distressed, sequestered country; where men, and property, commerce and manufactures, honour and honesty, have disappeared.

To her former height of grandeur and importance she will never rise again, while the principles of anarchy and the revolutionizing spirit of plunder and depopulation mark her conduct. I shall devote my next letter to the examination of the truth of these observations; and in order to carry conviction, I shall take care to assert nothing without a proof; "naught to extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

I remain,

with great sincerity, &c.

LETTER II.

DEAR SIR,

IF France, on account of the revolution, felt herself dispossessed of power, and resembled an inanimate corpse, she might have recovered from inanition, by the restoration of her hereditary monarch. Upon this, happiness would have ensued, and such improvements might have been introduced in her form of government as tend to secure civil liberty and social happiness.

“ Sed glomerare manum bello, et concurrere in arcem

“ ————— ardent animi : furor iraque mentem

“ Præcipitant —————

“ Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus !”

VIRGIL.

As that is not the case, Sir, it will be necessary to examine what France has suffered by the loss of these means whereby she became so powerful, and gained that preponderancy in the scale of Europe, under the reign of her Kings. To detail all the losses she has sustained by the revolution, is not yet in the power of any human being ; it will, therefore be deemed sufficient for the present to observe, that by a combat of seven years against foreign countries, and an insatiable thirst of blood, which in her fury she has drawn from the veins even of her own children, her finances are exhausted, her commerce and credit are sunk,

her colonies and the productions which she formerly received from them are gone ; a surprising consumption and expenditure of her cattle, which never was very numerous, has taken place ; in fine, two millions, if not two millions and a half of her population, have actually fallen in consequence of the revolution.

M. de Montesquieu endeavours, in his late publications in 1796, to make us believe, that the actual amount of floating specie, circulating in France, was not, when he wrote, much less than the capital in circulation in 1789. He asserts, that only two principal disbursements could cause the diminution thereof, viz. the ready cash exported into foreign countries for government contracts, for provisions, and for raw materials; the amount of which he values at 400 millions of livres, (16,666,666l. sterling;) and secondly, such sums as have been carried out of the country by emigrants. These defalcations he attempts to counterbalance, by very large sums which have flowed into France; for the purchase of immense quantities of French goods and merchandize which have supplied the warehouses of the greater part of Europe; by heavy contributions of money extorted from *Belgium, Holland, Germany, &c.*; and further, by considerable sums, which he has the assurance to affirm were sent from England to France for the purpose of promoting sedition and bribery.

But when he stated that 400 millions have been sent out of France in order to purchase provisions and raw materials, he should, likewise, have given an account of the large sums of cash which have been paid for goods of foreign manufacture, imported into France, and purchased at an enormous price. Cloth, stockings, shirts, and shoes, have been taken by force, and these in as great a quantity as could be levied in the countries where her armies have entered; but as these articles were insufficient to provide for a large mass of armed men, she was reduced to the unavoidable necessity of purchasing, at a very high rate, the chief of these articles from those provinces in Germany, which she had it not in her power, as yet, to plunder and ravage, or which, on account of their remote distance, were sheltered from her depredations. Switzerland, and even England, afforded her a large supply; for which she was obliged to pay one half, and sometimes three fourths, in advance. From England and Germany she acquired, moreover, large quantities of all kind of arms, cannons, &c.*; and the statement will not exceed the truth, if we affirm that the sum paid by France for raw materials, is calculated to amount to that which is sent from hence to foreign countries for manufactured goods.

The loss which France has sustained by emigrants, is, in general, under-rated. Numerous families sold their estates in the year 1789, and,

having turned their property into cash, sent it into foreign countries : and it is certain, that by the subsequent emigration of the nobility, clergy, and others, much more and considerable sums were exported than we have any knowledge about. This appeared in the prodigal manner of living among some of the emigrants ; others, influenced by motives of prudence, have settled abroad ; and live in a comfortable manner in such countries as afford them the means of subsistence at a reasonable rate ; and many of them keep up domestic establishments that are far from being insignificant. Many have likewise contrived to carry off with them, over and above considerable sums of money ; much jewelry, masses of plate, and other valuable effects. Complete table-services, and articles of immense value, have been sold in foreign countries. How many have settled in *North America*, and purchased lands for ready cash, or valuables disposable for ready money ? It has been ascertained, that, in two years, upwards of 40,000 French families have emigrated to that country.

But when M. de Montesquieu mentions considerable sums of money, which he falsely asserts to have been sent from England, purposely to create commotions in France, he should, in justice, not have passed over in silence, as of no important moment, the enormous sums expended by his own government, in almost every part of

the globe ; sums expended in bribery, in order to purchase treachery, foment sedition, encourage incendiaries, and it may be presumed, without violating the laws of charity, in carrying into effect designs of a deeper policy. The millions sent to Poland and Turkey are not, however, unknown ; nor are we altogether in the dark concerning the bribes accepted by S——y and H——e ; treachery we know was purchased in the *North*.

It is a fact already ascertained beyond a shadow of doubt, that the Republican Government caused very considerable sums of gold to be coined, leaving the impress of His Majesty's head, (at one single instant no less than 12,000 double louis d'ors, or 24,000*l.* sterling,) which were sent to Turkey ; and the sums of money and precious effects, which M. Semonville carried with him to Constantinople were, indeed, of important value.

You clearly perceive, my dear Sir, by these observations, that I have no intention to curtail the actual losses of France : I candidly acknowledge, that, to me, her finances, in the present, and seventh year of horror and devastation, appear to be exhausted *. Notwithstanding

* The following statement of their finances has been given in the *Veridique* in the month of July 1797, which certainly have still
more

the boasted strength of France cried up by the modern rulers of that miserable country, who, intoxicated by success, have strangled her own children, I say, in spite of all that has been done,

more decreased, notwithstanding the new springs of plunder which they have since opened.

“ Le directoire effraie le corps-législatif par des tableaux éner-
 “ giques de notre détresse ; le corps législatif tâche d'inquiéter le
 “ directoire par des plaintes sur la mauvaise administration ; le gou-
 “ vernement demande de l'argent ; le conseil, des comptes ; l'un
 “ crie contre la penurie du trésor, l'autre contre les dilapidations
 “ des treforiers ; les messages redoublés se heurtent, se croisent ;
 “ mais la caisse se ne remplit pas ; et pendant ce conflit, les rentiers
 “ se noient, se pendent, se jettent par les fenêtres ; les malades &
 “ les enfans trouvés meurent de faim dans les asiles affidés destinés à
 “ leur conserver la vie Autrefois la tribune retentissoit
 “ de l'immensité de nos ressources ; notre langage, à la vérité, est
 “ devenu plus modeste ; mais notre situation n'est pas meilleure.
 “ Quand on considère, quelle masse énorme de richesses est allée
 “ s'engloutir dans le gouffre de nos victoires, on est étonné qu'avec
 “ tant de moiens, nous ayons fait si peu de choses ; les Romains
 “ n'ont pas tant dépensé pour la conquête du monde.

“ L'immense capital de tous les revenus du clergé, des hôpitaux,
 “ des collèges, des corporations des toutes espèces, des domaines de
 “ la couronne, des apanages des princes, toute l'argenterie des
 “ églises & des particuliers, le produit des biens des émigrés, la
 “ vente de bijoux, de la vaisselle, de tous les effets rares et précieux,
 “ que le luxe & la prospérité de plusieurs siècles avoient entassées
 “ dans leurs palais ; la confiscation & le pillage de toutes les
 “ boutiques, de tous les magasins de la France, sous le prétexte du
 “ *maximum* ; deux emprunts forcés trois banqueroutes, des requi-
 “ sitions innombrables des grains, des fourages, des bestiaux,
 “ d'énormes contributions levées sur les amis & sur les ennemis, la
 “ dévastation de deux cent lieues de pais, la spoliation des toutes

“ le

through the jealousy or something worse of the united powers, or all that has been said by a people lost to their own interest, there remains not a doubt about the issue of the event, had her opponents, to spirit and prudence, joined unanimity and perseverance; had they acted in concert and proved faithful to the common cause. They might have compelled France to consent to an honourable peace; they might have secured the tranquillity of Europe; they might have restored to that distracted empire the blessings which she had lost. In this opinion, Sir, I believe we have no difference of sentiment, but to enlarge upon it, will not tend to develope our present object: a man of a strong and vigorous constitution is certainly exposed to the destructive influence of a sudden and a violent disease; but should he be fortunate enough to overcome the attack, he is not only sure of a speedy recovery, but of rising again to his former strength; and it is by no means improbable, that the great disease which worked through the whole machine, may have carried off the dangerous *miasmata* of the body; whereby it was purified, and enabled to increase

“ les compagnies de finances; tous ces produits de la violence & de
 “ la terreur ont été absorbés, tout a disparu; l’abyme de la révo-
 “ lution a tout dévoré; & de ces trésors incalculables, il ne rest
 “ que la honte des crimes, qu’ils ont coûtés.”

By this the melancholy condition of France may be clearly seen, notwithstanding that nearly one half of *Europe* has been plundered by her armies.

in vigour and health, and even to become more powerful than it was before the momentous crisis, from which it received a temporary shock. Provided, always, that the disease does not attain to such a height, as to operate on such noble parts, as are required, for the preservation of life, to remain unimpaired.

LETTER III.

THE object of this letter is to examine if any of the main-springs of the interior of France have been regenerated by the revolution: whether sundry impediments, which presented the disclosure of her elasticity, have been removed, whereby a wide space for an increased activity has been opened; and if her operations may not, consequently, become more effectual, and more extensive.

In order to examine these objects, we must take a retrospective view of France, prior to the revolution, and consider, if she did or not labour under several difficulties, by which an advantageous use of its surface and soil was rendered ineffectual; at least partially so; and the lower and most numerous class of the people were not, in conse-

quence of that impediment, deprived of the means of obtaining a comfortable subsistence.

The nature of the impediments, with respect to the soil, were twofold: the first regarded the surface and soil itself, in regard to quantity; the second, the use and temporary profit derived from the raw and manufactured productions generated from it.

Mr. Arthur Young rates the heath and waste lands in *France*, in 1788, at 27 millions of acres. The less fertile lands in that country, the forests and woodlands, he calculates to produce 14 livres annually per acre; the arable lands 18 livres, 14 sols; the meadow 50 livres; and the vineyards even 92 livres. The value of waste lands, which are, in part, of some use, he rates at 2 livres per acre annually.

Now if we rate the 27 millions of acres at the lowest estimate of the before-mentioned annual produce, *i. e.* at 14 livres, it renders the yearly increase of 324 million of livres of the former produce of the superficies of *France*.

This supposition cannot be considered as over-rated, provided we reflect, that the greater part of these deserts are capable, not only of being used for the cultivation of timber, but that the soil is of such a quality that it will produce corn, and

may afford a large supply of the juice of the grape; and that a part of the parks and pleasure grounds, which contained many miles, and are in general of a rich soil, do not come within this computation. But admitting the impossibility of bringing the whole of these waste and hitherto unprofitable lands into a state of cultivation; those parts of them, which already are, and will be rendered farther productive by industry, will certainly yield, at least, the value at which I have just estimated them.

The revolution has, moreover, given occasion to a farther and widely different division of the estates. The large tracts of land, the extensive domains, the estates, in number amounting to several thousands, which heretofore belonged to the king and nobility, have been parted and divided into small estates. It is not my intention, in this place, to notice the method and manner in which this has been done; nor do I mean to dwell upon the injustice of the depredations; it may have been as ignominious as the revolution itself; it is sufficient for my purpose, that it has been done. And I dare say with truth, that eventually it will lead to a better cultivation of the land, and make the greater part of useless desarts productive. The new proprietors of these lands will not, for some time at least to come, be so prodigal and inactive as to leave large tracts of a good soil, devoid of cultivation: or, to speak with greater

reference to truth ; necessity will not permit the waste, but will oblige them to use their utmost endeavours to make them as productive as possible. Deriving their support from agriculture, the farmer will be proportionably assiduous.

Suppose a part of the emigrated Frenchmen should obtain leave to return to their native country, and by some means, which God grant may be realized ! get reinstated in their former possessions ; or even restored to the enjoyment of part of their estates ; this suffering class of mankind, reduced by the iron hand of misfortune, must have benefited by those miseries which they have unhappily experienced ; and there remains not a doubt of their using their newly-acquired estates with more discretion, and will less addict themselves to shameful carelessness and thoughtless pursuits of pleasure.

This, however, we are still obliged to take for granted with respect to France. The chief elements of her former strength remain unimpaired. She still retains her situation, soil, and climate ; her circumference ; her interior shape ; her natural productions ; her unity ; and the same pliability of disposition among her inhabitants.

What of all these has France lost by the revolution ? Is the world lifted off its hinges, and France moved farther to the South or the North ?

Has an earthquake changed her situation and homogeneous shape? Has she lost some provinces by similar convulsions? or have any of them been wrested from her by the hands of her enemies? Has her soil become, on a sudden, barren and sterile? Have her inhabitants lost their discretion, activity, and courage? Or will they be so lastingly at variance amongst themselves as to preclude the possibility of their being brought forward either voluntarily, or by force, to fight against every enemy who threatens to dismember her empire?

No: all these elementary parts, upon which her true power is formed, still remain; and her losses principally fall on her population, on ready money, on her commerce and manufactures.— I shall hereafter state, in my farther observations, a loss that is apparently more considerable than all those which have been hitherto enumerated; but which, for the present, is not so material; because it interposes not with her formidable aspect to foreign nations.

A scarcity of specie cannot, for a length of time, hurt any country which possesses a fertile soil, abundant not only in all the necessaries of life, but likewise in almost every thing that supplies the luxuries, as well as the accommodation of its inhabitants; who, for the space of nearly two thousand years, have excelled the most civilized

nations in the industrious cultivation of those gifts of nature. The eventful crisis that filled the French empire with terror and dismay, will have scarcely passed, and ten years expired, before I am convinced, that the emigrated cash will again flow into her coffers from foreign countries. Let us call to mind the time of *Louis* and his South-sea schemes; when France was upon the eve of universal bankruptcy: and recollect how soon she emerged from that dependent state, how rapidly her credit increased, what a large mass of specie suddenly, as it were, appeared in circulation.

The same arguments will prevail, with regard to her diminished population. The deficiency of two millions and a half of her inhabitants, which are now lost, will, in a few years, be no longer perceptible, if we were even to admit that emigrants from other countries might not be enticed to settle in France. A person acquainted with the *ratio* of population, very well knows that twenty millions and upwards will, in a less space than twenty years, give an increase of two millions, should the course of population go on with no extraordinary dispatch.

With respect to her commerce and manufactures, it cannot be, for a moment, imagined that these will remain dormant, for any length of time, in a fertile country, highly favoured by nature, in point of situation, for carrying on extensive traffic

with other dominions; a country, whose inhabitants have been remarkable for a spirit of activity, speculative industry, and enterprizing genius; ever consequent upon her enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. Add to this, that, by the revolution in France, it must be confessed that many impediments have been removed, and that commerce and manufactures are no longer regarded as dishonourable employments: this consideration must naturally lead to an additional spirit of enterprize, must be a great inducement to embark in extensive undertakings.

This empire, then, at present reduced to the *acme* of distress; this body suffering under the inveteracy of disease, is not without hopes of recovery; and it is not unlikely that, should the circumstances alluded to come to pass; should her bloated habit be purified and successfully cleansed; it may acquire a more healthy constitution than it ever enjoyed before that awful event, by which its renovation was effected, took place; and thereby greatly augment in strength, and become still more powerful, still a greater object of terror.

The examination of this consideration you will permit me to enlarge upon in my next letter.

Yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

DEAR SIR,

THE modern usurpers have already converted into ready money a considerable part of those amazing heaths and waste lands, which are now cultivated by the well-known industry and active perseverance of the nation; and France has thereby acquired an additional and permanent annual revenue of 324 millions of livres, at least, over and above the former value of its surface: I will set it down at no more than 240 millions of livres (ten millions sterling), because many thousand acres may still remain useless; partly from the internal barrenness of its soil; partly from certain portions being still left uncultivated, and devoted to pleasure grounds, gardens, &c.

You will not infer from all this, that I am become an advocate for the reduction of large estates into small farms; by no means; I believe the opinion of Mr. *Young*, and other experienced agronomists, to be founded on prudence, that such a partition would, in the end, defeat its own design; for an agriculturalist possessing but a small capital, is unable to lay out any sum of consequence for the improvement of his land, because he is unable to support any considerable loss.

But, Sir, the question here is not of dismembering estates, and of dividing them into small

tracts ; but how the land may be employed to the best purpose, and by what means it may be rendered most advantageous to the proprietors and community at large. It has been proved already by several statements lately submitted to the public observation, that one fifth of the lands in *France*, previous to the revolution, belonged to the nobility, who were not one hundredth part of the nation ; and that large estates of enormous extent, were possessed by single families ; who, in part, totally disregarded agricultural improvements ; and, by their absence from these estates, had it not in their power to turn them to such advantage, as if the land had been divided amongst several less opulent proprietors.

Many of these great land-holders were indifferent to the advantages derived from a well-cultivated estate ; they gave up considerable tracts of land, merely to gratify a predominant inclination for the chace ; pleasure-grounds and promenades occupied large plains devoted to self-gratifications : these luxuries, the recent, but less wealthy proprietors, will not be able to enjoy.

Let us now consider the other point of investigation. The husbandmen and labourious mechanic were precluded from deriving the utmost possible advantage from the raw and manufactured produce of nature. It would be an undertaking far beyond the limits of my design to enumerate

the accumulated difficulties under which they formerly laboured, and which were equally destructive of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. I shall confine myself to a statement of the permanent monopolies, the prohibitions of exporting corn even from one province to another; the tenths; the gabels; the foccages or services due to the lord of the manor; and the numerous tributes and oppressions to which the people, and principally the civil part of the community, were cruelly subject.

Oppose to all this, the idea on which the modern revolution-defenders found their vaunting boast; an idea that has made a deep impression on weak minds; that by the revolution and new order of things this slavery of different kinds has been abolished; that every one now reigns uncontrolled in the enjoyment of his own lands, and of all that he acquires by his own industry; that every one may aspire to the highest honours of the state, even to that of being elected a member of the Executive Directory. The effect of these ideas, and what influence they have upon a people, surpass all expectation, and is not easily described. It is well known that the characteristic of the French is novelty; this they indulge to a degree of enthusiasm. They are addicted to every extreme. If we admit that the views of their present rulers are directed to their own interest, to render their country subservient to their private

designs, and that their principal aim is to enrich themselves ; or that they may be enabled to impose taxes on the nation, equal to such as have been formerly paid, and even of a much heavier weight ; it will not apparently supersede the effect already stated ; and, for some time, at least, will not diminish the regenerated activity of the nation. Every husbandman will, notwithstanding, endeavour to force his plough deeper into the ground ; and every man of business will lengthen the hours of his daily toil, in expectation of acquiring by protracted assiduity, if not an exalted situation in his country, at least a more comfortable and independent life.

The payment of taxes affects the minds of men in a very different way ; especially if they can flatter themselves with the probable hope, or entertain a fanciful idea of having it one day or other in their power of dictating the very taxes which may be levied ; or, whether they will be under the necessity of paying those imposts, and submit to exactions during life, like a slave and a labourer whose views do not extend to the amelioration of their state, and who are obliged silently to render, with passive compliance, whatever is demanded.

The inhabitants of happy England pay heavy taxes, and for the most part without opposition and murmurs. And whence does this arise, but from the perfect liberty and uninterrupted posses-

sion, with which every Englishman enjoys his estates and all his property? He pays, therefore, with satisfaction, all necessary imposts and taxes, because he knows that the whole is fixed with his own consent, or by the assent of his representative in Parliament; and that no exclusive right debars him from raising himself to any step of fortune, prosperity, and honour, by the exertions of industry, perseverance, and rectitude. Many examples will occur to his recollection of men devoid of birth and fortune having arisen to great and honourable employments; or of having acquired considerable wealth under the protection of a good government, and have lived at ease in the grateful enjoyment of comfort and happiness. The prospect of this spurs the true Briton on to unremitted activity, it rouses every latent spark of his industry; and he pays all taxes with a degree of chearfulness; being convinced, that he lays out a part of his property for the protection of the bulk of his fortune; he considers it as a deposit for the use of his country; for the defence of those channels through which wealth has poured in upon him, and for the purpose of opening new springs that may tend to increase his riches.

If therefore the modern Frenchman should be required to pay even more burdensome taxes than were imposed under the former government, this would not lessen his endeavours, influenced by

similar hopes, to acquire prosperity ; and, by the allurements of temptation, to attain the highest pitch of honour. By these illusions have the usurpers continued, at least for a time, to mislead and blind the people of France, in order to accomplish their own private views, and to make her increased formidability subservient to their despotic pleasure.

These incitements, therefore, however specious in reality, create a new and an enlarged circumvallation of things ; a restless energy in acquiring large possessions ; and, of course, a more considerable production of not only all the necessities, but likewise of all the superfluities of life—That, by these commerce and luxury should receive additional vigour, and operate to a wider extent, it is natural to suppose. Luxury will eventually follow upon the increase of wealth, and will, even without that inventive talent of fashion, and other trifles so peculiar to the French, who surpass all other nations in vanity, soon bring back to France, with more than *cent. per cent. interest*, all the gold that has been exported thence, and now remains in the possession of others.

Not that I mean, in this place, to deliver an opinion on what the new government may intend to employ these advantages, so peculiar to the French nation. This discussion you shall have at large in a future letter.

My present observations only go to prove what France may again become, after the revolution; and to what a mighty and potent empire it is capable of rising, as soon as it can enjoy some settled, or some imaginary tranquillity.

To be convinced of this, it will be necessary to examine, in a general point of view, the consequence of the savings derived from the large incomes taken from the clergy, from the court, from the great nobility who were highly favoured by the court, and from the ministers: which consideration I shall leave for the subject of my next letter.

I am, &c.

LETTER V.

DEAR SIR,

THE primary object of this letter is to inquire what modern France actually saves by her new regulation adopted in regard to the clergy.

M. Necker stated the whole amount of the income possessed by the French clergy, previous to the revolution, at 110 millions of livres, *i. e.* 4,583,333*l.* sterling. Other, and more recent

writers *, represent it to have been 121,300,000 livres, *i. e.* 50,541,666l. sterling, of which the 18 archbishops and 118 bishops enjoyed, according to the statement of some authors, six millions, *i. e.* 250,000l., and of others 4,337,000 livres, *i. e.* 180,708l. sterling.

I have no intention to scrutinize the truth of these different statements, nor do I mean to carry my inquiry into an examination of them; it is likewise foreign to my design to ascertain whether the clergy were or were not too liberally provided for. It is sufficient for my purpose that it is a fact, that several archbishops had an income of 50, 60, 70, and 100,000 livres; the archbishop of Paris 200,000; that of Strasburgh 400,000 livres annually; *i. e.* 16,666l. sterling.

That these large sums were not divided amongst the clergy in the most equitable manner; that these vast revenues were, for the most part, spent in the metropolis; contrary to every principle of right and justice, and highly detrimental to the inhabitants of the various dioceses and country towns; that the laborious and most beneficial class of the clergy, the curates, received a partial reward for their industry: that their salaries were too needy and inadequate to the supply of their wants; these are facts which cannot be denied, even by a Frenchman of the old government, if

* Beaufort grand portefeuille polit. act. France 1789.

he candidly expresses his sentiments, and shrinks not from the truth.

The large estates, from whence the ample revenues of the clergy arose, have been confiscated, declared national property, and sold as such; with what degree of justice this has been done, I shall leave you to consider; indeed justice was altogether neglected: the ecclesiastics, who were retained under the new order of things, receive, it is true, a far less income, and are placed upon a more equal footing. Their number is by no means so large * as heretofore.

The annates, and money paid to the Pope and sent to Rome for dispensations, are now suspended, and by their abolition large sums are retained in the country. *Avignon*, and *Venaiſſin*, which belonged to the Pope, are again re-united to France. These two provinces are, indeed, but small; and the revenue derived from them by Rome was

* The French clergy, before the revolution, were considered to be upwards of 500,000 in number; and in France there were

- 18 Archbishopricks
- 118 Bishopricks
- 256 Commanderies of the order of Malta
- 700 Convents of Mendicants
- 1240 Priors
- 1891 Abbies
- 15,200 Chapels, and
- 140,000 Parish churches.

estimated by some to amount only to 55,000, and by others to 58,000 livres annually; *i. e.* 2,416l. sterling. But it is notwithstanding a valuable acquisition for France; she has thereby connected her interior, no longer divided; and will, most certainly, in the course of time, make these small, but beautiful and well-situated countries, more productive than their former mutable possessors were enabled to do.

A wide field opens itself to our observation, upon examining the second object of this letter—the sumptuousness and expensive prodigality of the French court. It was not the monarch, however, who stood in need of these large sums, nor were they profusely squandered away by him; the court favourites divided the spoil. Some of these possessed twenty different places and appointments at one and the same time, and enjoyed millions of livres.

The genuine *livre rouge** convinces us, without admitting a negative, that these expences, lavished in such profusion, arose from the abuses of the monarchy, and the influence of an aristocracy carried to the highest pitch. The sums which the present government sweeps in this respect are very considerable, and the advantages arising from their being more generally divided, and not dropped, in

* Paris, chez Baudocin 1790.

large heaps, into the hands of a few persons, must be of important benefit to the nation at large.

The 25 millions, *i. e.* 1,041,666l. sterling, for the civil list of the King, and 8 millions for the Princes, were certainly not the most considerable part thereof; and I am convinced that the expences on which the French nation has actually fixed for the support of her modern regents, if fundamentally examined, greatly surpasses these 33 millions, *i. e.* 1,375,000l. which her monarch formerly expended. However the sums alluded to before, issued for the use of the ministers in order to secure the interest of great courtiers, were immense, and included in the general title *ordonnances de Compte*; these expenditures were described under one general head, because political motives kept them from public inspection. The genuine red book states the smallest amount to have been in the year 1783, 82,913,075 livres, *i. e.* 3,454,711l.; and the highest amount, the prodigious sum of 145,438,115 livres, *i. e.* 6,059,921l. If we now take the medium, or 100 millions, *i. e.* 4,166,666l. annually, it certainly will not be over-rated.

These facts are sufficient to prove, and that evidently too, that the nation will, in the course of time, save amazing sums of money, which will naturally contribute to the restoration of her finances, at a period not far remote.

Let us for a moment consider how much the operations of these expedients will contribute to activity, and what capitals will thereby be employed for the use of national works, facilitated in consequence of them; what burdens will be taken from the shoulders of commerce formerly much encumbered. The condition of the lower class of people, freed from many difficulties that precluded their getting a comfortable livelihood, will be greatly ameliorated: and a great increase of marriages, and of course of population, arising from effects so beneficial, will ensue! Are not these altogether, powerful instruments, which, in the hands of workmen expert in the art of deluding the people, and who labour with unremitted assiduity, may produce surprizing changes? Must it not be expected that a great number of strangers will be enticed to emigrate from their country, and settle in France, and thereby increase her population? Will not the last and most material point likewise be greatly promoted by the abolition of the monastic orders? Now that several hundred thousand ecclesiastics are permitted to marry, and that about 80,000 nuns are released from confinement?

You will please to observe, Sir, that this statement is not meant to apologize for, nor to express my approbation of the French revolution, and my farther representations will sufficiently prove to the contrary; but in order to effect my purpose, it is

necessary that I should candidly develop the protuberances of the revolution, and the most likely consequences which that event will draw after it. Each object has a twofold appearance; and as I was obliged to give a description of what seemed to me striking on one side, I shall not fail to exhibit the face of the other with equal attention to candour. My principal aim thus far has been to prove, that France, if it should successfully overcome its present dreadful paroxysm, it is not unlikely that it may become more powerful, and of course more formidable than it has ever been before. Whether this might not have been achieved without a revolution, and even in a manner far more efficacious, is a question which I shall have occasion to discuss in a succeeding letter.

This increase, then, of the interior strength of France, is of much greater consequence than the acquired mass of the newly-conquered countries; having neither fresh frontiers to defend, nor the difficulty of conciliating the friendship of nations different in languages, manners, and customs. The whole strength centers in itself, and is of course more valuable, and of greater force and efficacy.

Is it not then to be apprehended that France, from these reasons, may acquire an overbalance? or can it be believed that Austria and Prussia, from the possession of a part of Poland, are be-

come sufficiently powerful to oppose her? or that by the preponderating navigation of England, and her possession in the eastern and western hemispheres, every thing is secured with respect to commerce and the sovereignty of the seas? and that sufficient care is taken of the equilibrium of Europe, even in conjunction with the great Colossus of the North, who has likewise increased the surface of his dominions by several thousand leagues.

This letter is already sufficiently extended, and filled up with important matter; I shall therefore take my leave of you for the present.

LETTER VI.

DEAR SIR,

TO form a just opinion of the new relations of the European states, occasioned by the French revolution, it will be necessary briefly to consider the condition of all the European powers with respect to the political *equilibrium*.

We will commence with England, the oldest and most powerful opponent of France. What has England gained by this war? and what may she expect?

England has conquered several rich islands in the West Indies; she has taken from the Dutch the Cape of *Good Hope*, some of the American possessions, the Spice and Molucca islands; and it is not improbable that she may be successful against *Batavia*, the chief settlement of the Dutch in the East Indies; she has conquered the French colonies in the East, and deprived the French of almost all their possessions in both Indias. By the sovereignty of her marine and her persevering activity, she commands the Levant. In fine, Great Britain is now the Grand Emporium whence all other states of Europe are supplied with the productions of both Indias: she is the great monopolist of the commerce of both worlds, and by the

assistance of her opulent merchants, who, in general, possess well-informed minds; and by the superiority of her manufacturers, and their steadiness in the pursuit of improvement, her commerce has attained to the highest pitch.

We will now take into consideration those arguments which militate against what has been asserted. Is not the national debt of Great Britain increased 150 millions sterling? Has not the credit of her bank suffered a dangerous shock? Did not her marine, the only bulwark of her safety, threaten to sink? Will not the possessions of her remote acquisitions involve both expence and difficulty in their retention? And will she not be obliged, in the end, to return the whole, and even forego a part of what she has hitherto possessed? How uncertain, in the present times, is the tenure of all remote establishments! Have we not, in the latter part of this century, experienced, in the conduct of the British colonies in North America, a renunciation of their mother country, which had not only planted and secured, but many times defended them with money and men against their enemies? If the mass of Europeans in the East Indies should considerably increase, how can we be assured that they will not be enticed by the French, by Tippoo Saib, or by the Mahrattas, to discard likewise the guardianship of the parent country, and declare themselves independent? Will not the possession of Bel-

gium, and the free navigation of the rivers Rhine, Maïse, and Scheldt, prove detrimental, in the hands of the French, to British commerce and manufactures?

That the national debt of England has, during the contest with France, increased to an enormous amount, is undeniable; but it cannot be denied, that her commerce, the chief spring by which she is enabled to provide for the interest of that debt, was ever in such a flourishing state as at present.

The new systems of finance, the assessed taxes *, and the sale of the land-tax, which have been introduced during the last session of Parliament, produced an immediate and beneficial operation; by the former, the necessary expences of the year were answered; by the latter, the new loan was contracted for on more reasonable terms, even in that moment when her enemy threatened her with a descent upon the coast, and the subversion of a constitution which has been justly the admiration of all the world; at a time, too, when a dangerous rebellion broke out in the sister kingdom, and the democrats and jacobins at home were standing tip-toe in eager expectation. And when the sale of the land-tax is put into execution, it

* These may have fallen short of the Minister's expectations; but some equivalent will, no doubt, be found to make up their defalcation.

may be naturally expected that the funds will rise considerably.

An impartial observer must acknowledge that the national debt, though so highly accumulated, is not yet become dangerous, on account of its gradual reduction by one million a year prudently set apart for that purpose; and by the adoption of such other systems as will ensure its future reduction, should the French continue to refuse to treat on equitable terms for the restoration of peace. Nor is it to be doubted that the nation, now fully convinced that the continuance of the war is absolutely necessary against an enemy who has menaced her with destruction, will prove to the world what she is able to do; and that she will rather sacrifice a part of her riches than become subject to the unjust exactions of faithless usurpers.

It is likewise true that the Bank of England did suffer a momentaneous shock; but from this it recovered by the wise measures of Parliament. Subordination was likewise restored in the fleet, by punishing the guilty for their crimes, and by conceding such favours to the whole of the navy, as were thought just and equitable.

Upon treating of commerce and France itself, and what England may expect from her principal strength, I shall hereafter be more particular, and take a review of such arguments as may oppose the rising prosperity of the former.

Germany has suffered immensely by this revolutionary war; and that in several ways. She has lost large provinces, and extensive countries belonging to her have been laid waste—Suabia and Franconia, situate on the Rhine; upon which the meliorated Hunns have dropped their locust-swarms, to grasp at whatever they could possibly lay hold on. But this is only a small part of great calamities. The brood which these swarms have left in that empire, the seed of discord, the fermentation, and interior disunion effected by the influence of the wild opinions of the day and the revolutionary *mania*, are much more dangerous. The late war has given rise to discontent powerfully extending from province to province. The *Austrians* the *Palatines*, the *Suabians*, the *Wirtembergers*, are actually in a state of disunion. And it is much to be feared that the two greatest monarchs in Germany will again expose to public observation that animosity, which was nearly lulled asleep; if they listen to the perfidious councils of the French, and go not hand in hand, united in their endeavours to prevent their subjects from being allured by those phantoms, which, from experience, we know will form them into furies, and urge them to tear asunder the most sacred bonds of humanity, to welter in the blood of their monarchs and fellow citizens, and to introduce an equality of misery and distress!

Why do not these form a coalition with other northern sovereigns, to protect established monarchical governments against the attack of democratical republics?

I have heard the apprehension of some good-natured people with a degree of pity, that the new republic would prejudice the integrity of the *Holy Roman Empire*. The integrity of the German empire principally consists, according to my opinion, in preserving the power of about three hundred great and lesser sovereigns with their territories, and in taking special care that her chief has not too extensive an influence over the several individual states. Is it not self-evident that even this division of 24 millions and 12,000 square leagues into three hundred parts leads to disunion, and divides and destroys the sentiment which should be the favourite of the Germans, "*Germany is our mutual country!*" This so highly boasted-of integrity has been the principal cause of the alternative jealousies of the different provinces in Germany, and one of the chief causes of their inconsistency: and has therefore evidently proved the effective reason of their feebleness against a powerful enemy closely united, who enters the field of battle with enthusiasm, and shews what such an enemy can achieve. Can it therefore be supposed, that France, its old and inveterate enemy, would endeavour to annihilate this foundation of German inactivity; and behold with indifference Ger-

many divided into two powerful masses of more than 12 millions each ; who, in a short time, would all entertain the same opinion ; being already of one language, and nearly of the same manners and customs ; and then be able to act united in concert together ? Is it possible that France could wish to annihilate the spiritual electors, whose states are situated on the borders of the Rhine ; who so impotently defend their frontiers, and who never save any considerable sum out of their revenues for the highly important and laudable purpose of erecting, and keeping in a good state of repair, fortifications of the greatest consequence ; who, on account of a continual succession of regents, are anxious only during their time being, to provide for their relatives out of the surplus of their revenues. Is it probable then that France can desire that these impotent princes should be placed by firm and powerful monarchs, who with German valour could oppose to any foe impregnable bulwarks ?

France, whether erected again into a kingdom, or reduced to a wide republic, has been and will continue to be, the constant enemy of Germany. Always a proud, a daring, discrete, and restless enemy, to every neighbouring state, who, in any degree, has resolution enough to struggle for its self-existence, and will not be dependent on the most gracious nod of its despotic will. And if the sentiments of her modern government were

still more democratic ; if the system of murder were revived anew, with accumulation of fury and greater ferocity than under the reign of Rober-
spierre ; if France, internally, were disunited by the most opposite opinions ; still would French-
men cherish the same sentiments which they for-
merly entertained, with respect to foreign ene-
mies, especially if attacked by them in their own
country.

Any one acquainted with the history of France, and with the spirit of the French nation, might have foreseen that this would have been the case : Lewis the Sixth, in the year 1111, was involved in quarrels and discord to the highest pitch, with his great vassals ; his foreign Enemies imagined that to be the period, most advantageous for ter-
minating the internal troubles which divided the empire. But how soon did the Emperor and the King of England, his two most powerful enemies, find their united efforts disappointed ! all disaf-
fection, in the vassals of Lewis the Sixth, van-
ished in a moment. They hastened to assist their monarch with decided alacrity, and obliged the powerful opponents to relinquish their hostile designs.

A similar case happened under the reign of Francis the First. In the year 1523, at the time of the conspiracy of Charles of Bourbon, the great Constable, France was skilfully attacked by the principal powers of Europe ; but she op-

posed, and withdrew from the formidable contest with great success. The most potent of her vassals, one who possessed the largest estates in France, was allied with England, Charles the Fifth, Spain, Holland, and the Netherlands, against his native country, deprived of all foreign aid; their united efforts, however, proved ineffectual.

The third great general storm raised against France, was the eleven years continued succession of war, under Lewis the Fourteenth; which, notwithstanding it humbled the pride, and bent the arrogance of that haughty monarch, and at the same time that it impoverished his country; the combinations, however, formed against the King was unable to dismember it of one of those provinces, which had formerly been torn from the German empire. The state was therefore weakened only for a short time, and owed its preservation to the union of its citizens; who immediately joined hand in hand to resist the invaders, and to defend it against any intended dismemberment.

Can it therefore be imagined that her present rulers have it in contemplation, provided they had the ability, to create in Germany, or even to assist in creating, a Colossal state, which, from union of sentiments, of manners, language, and customs, would always prove a formidable enemy? or that they would even endeavour to diminish or remove the impediments which heretofore have

prevented the numerous members* of that empire from acting with united efforts? †

The German states have, by the preserved integrity of the German empire, valuable as it may appear to every one, who considers the security of his property a matter of importance, jointly preserved their relative weakness with respect to France; and by no means increased their formida-

* 1492.

† The French rulers have proved by the peace lately concluded with the Emperor at *Udina*, that their schemes have *in view* other political designs, and that they fix their views on the undeniable truth: "That states become capable only of being good allies when they have no interest and local incitement to make war one against the other." They therefore have removed *Austria* from the French frontiers and the west of *Europe*, and placed other republics as a barricado between them, and thereby directly made *Austria* a more dangerous neighbour of *Russia*, and indirectly of *Prussia*.

M. *Bleauw*, the *Batavian* Minister at *Paris*, presented to M. *de la Croix*, Minister for the Department of Foreign Affairs in *France*, a memoir, translated by him, of M. *de Raet*, *Batavian* Envoy at *Cassel*, in which he recommended a continuation of the rivers *Rhine*, *Ems*, and *Lippe*, up to the town of *Ham*, the frontiers of the *Batavian* Republic (and thereby to curtail the power of the King of *Prussia* in *Westphalia*, and to make him a less dangerous neighbour to *France*) to indemnify her for 200 millions of guilders (17 millions sterling) which she has lost by her adherence to *France*; and to divide *Germany*, of which he states the revenue at 137 millions *rix dollars* (about 27 millions sterling) into eight parts, under the government of eight Princes, (equal in revenues to *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sardinia*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*.) The latter part *France* rejected as an anti-republican project.

bility, upon which their happiness and safety depend.

Let us now take a view of the *Austrian Netherlands*. France has, for a long time, been protected against the invasion of the Germans by a triple bulwark of fortresses; and now that she has forced the cession of *Belgium* from the Emperor, and *Maestricht* from the Dutch, and obliged the empire to consent to their cession. Her strength and security are greatly increased by the acquisition of *Luxemburgh* and *Maestricht*, two of the most formidable fortifications in Germany; and of many other fortresses of less importance.

The key from that side of the German empire is delivered into the hands of France; but on this side access is denied to the Germans by strong holds, which it is almost impossible to blow, and which may be rendered impregnable.

By the additional possession of *Liege*, *Huy*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy* to *Maubeuge*, &c. France is become the sovereign mistress of the rivers *Meuse* and *Sambre*. Germany is thereby dismantled, and consequently rendered in as great a proportion unsafe as France is strengthened. We must here likewise observe, that the *Prussian* provinces in *Westphalia* are too remote from the chief-seat of her forces, and, as it were, isolated and exposed to this formidable neighbour.

We may farther add, that by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, other whole provinces are separated from the German empire. Provinces which are manifestly the best situated in Germany, and which are the most populous, notwithstanding their being chiefly inhabited by Roman Catholics. And will not the French turn the navigation of the river Rhine, to greater advantage than the Germans have hitherto done; who have not derived those benefits which nature graciously designed they should, from the possession of such a gift; because its borders belonged to so many different sovereigns, and on account of its being encumbered with numerous tolls *,

* The navigable rivers which unite with the *Rhine* on its left bank are: The *Ill*, which is navigable from *Schlestadt*, and joined by the *Scheer*, navigable ten miles; the *Zems*, navigable nine miles; the *Kentzig*, navigable thirty-three miles; the *Runchen*, navigable thirty miles; the *Motter*, navigable from the city of *Haguenau*, and joined by the *Zorn* about two miles from its confluence, and is twenty-two miles navigable; the *Lauter*, navigable from the city of *Crown-Weissenburgh*; the *Queich*, navigable from the city of *Landau*; the *Spirbach*, navigable thirty miles; into which the *Wefer* falls by the city of *Neustadt*, and twenty-five miles navigable; the *Moselle*, a principal river in *Germany*, which unites with the *Rhine* at *Coblentz*, and is navigable from the city of *Nancy*, and passes the cities *Pont-a-Mousson*, *Thionville*, *Treves*, and numerous towns which belonged heretofore to *Germany*; the *Nette*, which is navigable from the town of *Oichlingen*.

From the city of *Mentz* to *Holland* are no less than twenty-eight different tolls, and one at *Germerheim*, of which the revenues returned an annual income of one million of guilders, (about 111,000l. sterling,) and were more oppressive to *France* than *Ger-*

many,

and the privilege of staple-right formerly granted to three cities, which are now altogether in the hands of the French? But how much soever the abolition of these tolls on the Rhine may

many, and principally vexatious to her commerce between *Alsace* and the departments of the Upper and Lower *Rhine*. These tolls were: at *Mentz*, belonging to the Elector of *Mentz*; at *Klopp*, to the Prince of *Salm*; at *Bingen*, to the Chapter of *Mentz*; at *Bacharach*, to the Elector of the *Palatinate*; at *Kaub*, to the same; at *St. Goar*, to the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*; at *Boppard*, to the Elector of *Treves*; at *Ober-Lahnstein*, to the Elector of *Mentz*; at *Coblentz*, to the Elector of *Treves*; at *Andernach*, to the Elector of *Cologne*; at *Lutzerdorff*, to the Elector of *Treves*; at *Lintz* and at *Bonn*, to the Elector of *Cologne*; at *Zons*, to the Chapter of *Cologne*; at *Dusseldorff*, to the Elector of the *Palatinate*; at *Urdingen*, to the Chapter of *Cologne*; at *Kayserstworth*, to the Elector of the *Palatinate*; at *Rusport*, to the King of *Prussia*, as Duke of *Moers*; at *Orsry*, at *Rees*, at *Emmerich*, at *Lobyt*, to the King of *Prussia*, as Duke of *Cleves*; at *Schenkenschang*, at *Nimoguen*, at *Tiel*, at *Bommel*, at *Gorinchen*, and at *Dort*, which belonged to the States General of *Holland*.

The three cities which possessed the staple-right are, *Spire*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*, whereby the commerce of the *Dutch* was greatly interrupted; they could not send their vessels laden with merchandize farther on the *Rhine* than *Cologne*, where all goods were unloaded and sent by vessels belonging to *Cologne* to *Mentz*, where they again unloaded, and by vessels from *Mentz* proceeded to *Spire*, and from thence to their respective destinations.

The abolition of these tolls would therefore be much more advantageous to *France* than *Germany*; and the abolition of the staple-right would indemnify the losses of *Holland* by annulling her fix tolls; she would be enabled to convey every sort of merchandize in her own vessels on the *Rhine* to *Basle*, and obtain a more immediate communication with the interior parts of *France* and *Germany*.

be desirable for the promotion of commerce, it remains still to be considered, whether the abolition would, in the same degree, turn out to the advantage of both empires, and whether France would not acquire from it a farther preponderancy in commerce and strength.

If we reason by analogy, it follows, that Austria, by her acquisitions in Poland and Italy; and Prussia, by her late considerable increase of territory and population, are not consequently much benefited by their aggrandizement. The Emperor's acquisition in Poland was not entirely dependent on the French revolution: but notwithstanding that country surpasses Belgium in population, the situation and riches of the latter raise it above comparison. A considerable lapse of years, an uninterrupted state of tranquillity, and the expenditure of large sums of money in promoting agriculture, and digging canals, can alone render the Polish provinces a valuable acquisition.

The free navigation on the *Rhine* will likewise greatly injure the trade of *England* on the rivers *Wefer*, *Elbe*, &c.; these rivers are burdened with heavy tolls, of which thirty-two alone are to be paid on the *Elbe* from *Pirna* in *Saxony* to *Hamburgh*; and the goods by the *Wefer* to *Francfort on the Maine* must be sent from *Hanover* and *Cassel* by land-carriage—And may not *France* establish at *Mentz* a free fair, and thereby destroy the commerce of *Francfort*? An agreement between *France* and *Holland* may tend to make *Mentz* the general depot of the commerce of the south of *Germany*.

Will, however, the present delusive idea of unbridled liberty spread amongst mankind, permit us to expect that these provinces, conquered by the sword, and lately upon the point of acting with independence, can remain quiet for any length of time?

One remark, however, should not in this place escape our notice, because of its consolatory influence upon every sympathetic mind.

The condition of Poland has been dreadful for many years. The elected monarch was dependent on the *magnates* of the empire, and, in a great degree, on the neighbouring states, by whom his prerogatives were limited and curtailed. The nobility, for the greater part, were at variance with each other, and exercised at their numerous * seats a more than despotic tyranny over the lower, but industrious class of the people. The middle ranks had been long deprived of representation in the Diets. Trade was look down upon with an eye of contempt; commerce consequently lost its energy; what manufactures were in the country, were of little consequence, and in the hands of Jews and foreigners. The poor mechanic and the humble peasant were regarded in a despicable light, held up to sale; and, in their abject state of slavery, greatly abused. Justice was not attended

* Twenty-two thousand.

to, but remained unexecuted. A soil most productive of timber, corn, hemp, flax, and vegetation of all kinds, was not above half cultivated. The iron-hand of ten-fold despotism, assisted by the fiends of internal discord, laid heavy burdens upon, and checked every branch of agriculture; the tottering and subdivided government had reduced a country, rich in its own resources, to a desolate and an uninhabited * empire: it degraded a nation which was formerly great and brave, and capable of a high degree of civilization, to a miserable people; lingering out a miserable existence, exposed to wretchedness, and continually perturbed by anxiety and fear.

I have no intention here to defend the principles or the means by which Poland was divided: but I beg leave to state an undeniable truth: That the great mass of the people in that country have experienced from it a favourable change; their condition is greatly ameliorated; and they find themselves more happy than heretofore. They have acquired the beneficial effects of a regular government; better security for property; enjoyment of the produce of their labour and industry, and the full liberty of cultivating their talents. The spirit of philanthropy re-

* Poland contained at least 10,000 square leagues, of which there were no more than nine millions and a half of inhabitants. The population of Germany, of which the soil in general is not so productive, is therefore upwards of two to one.

joices to see this extension of the blessings of Providence *. Whether the new-intended constitution of Poland, promised, in case the late revolution had been successfully effected, would have rendered the condition of its inhabitants still more happy, is a question foreign to the purport of these letters.

With respect to the Italian provinces which the French have arbitrarily † given to Austria in exchange for Belgium, it is an undeniable fact, that, of these, the continental part is rich in production. It comes, however, within the design of our present observations, to consider likewise the natural disposition of their inhabitants, and how far they are satisfied with this transfer of government.

* These people, heretofore so much oppressed, experienced the favourable change made in their condition; as a proof of which, they gratefully accepted the Prussian government. And the measures which it takes to increase its population, and to enable them to cultivate the country with better success and greater security to themselves, open to them satisfactory views of future prospects; having now the comfort of enjoying the fruit of their labour; of which they and their ancestors have been deprived so many years.

† The new acquisitions of *Austria* in *Italy*, which may be properly named *Maritime Austria*, contain a surface of 865 square leagues; 3,110,000 inhabitants; and a revenue of 10 millions of guilders. She has surrendered to the *French* and *Cis-alpine Republic*, a surface of 679 square leagues; 3,224,000 inhabitants; and a revenue of 9 millions and a half of guilders.

France has plundered these Italian states, as she has done every other country within her grasp, and not only robbed them of every thing that seemed worth carrying off, but taken great pains to propagate those notions of liberty and equality, which have emanated from a spirit of phrenzy, and displayed itself in the violation of justice, order, and morality—and which has, in reality, hitherto been supported by perfect swindling.

Italy has at all times, and even during its pillage under the Romans, discovered a narrowness of sentiment, which seems peculiar to its inhabitants, and is the offspring of interior jealousy; the recollection, also, of being divided into petty republics, and of enjoying their separate governments, is apt to revive, as they are now situated, erroneous opinions of liberty and imaginary ideas of equality. The inhabitants of those countries, which have been so suddenly ceded to Austria, find themselves, unexpectedly, delivered into the hands of a monarchy, at a time too when their neighbours boast of the lofty name of uncontrouled republicans. Can it therefore be supposed that these suspicious Italians will become more peaceable subjects to his Imperial Majesty, than the Belgians? The latter was, naturally, a people fond of tranquillity; and if, shortly previous to the war, they had not been deprived of their ancient privileges, by the arbitrary and inconsiderate hand of despotism; if even

the external rites of their religion had not suffered an attack, they would never have revolted against the Duke of Brabant.

Indeed Italy borders on the principal states of *Austria*, and the advantage of surrounding her monarchy with fertile provinces, so far blinded the Cabinet of Vienna, that the loss of Belgium disappeared. But, Sir, will such bartering of countries, and transferring of subjects from one government to another, produce tranquillity? Will it ensure allegiance to their Sovereign? These are, however, the most material, and, in reality, the only points on which the happiness, and what is of still more consequence, the safety of whole countries and governments, depend.

It is therefore to be apprehended, that the division of Poland, of which *Austria* and *Prussia* have received such large portions for their shares, will prove detrimental to these powers; however desirable and important, considering the actual state of affairs, it may be, that these monarchs should be great and powerful, able to protect the Continent against the formidable arms of France. Europe has, therefore, to dread, and that seriously too, whatever may occasion an internal ferment in those two empires.

But is such an event chiefly promoted by forcibly joining nations together, different in language,

customs, and manners, and who, by the most singular concatenation of affairs, were obliged to submit to a heterogeneous government, which deprived them of their former rulers, and forced them to submit to a power, which they regard with indifference?

And at what period are these changes agreed upon? Just at that momentous period, when France, with a presumption unparalleled, and with a temerity never heard of before, cancels every obligation of security, defies all governments, order, and rectitude, and publicly recognizes every vagabond as the greatest and most honourable hero, who understands the best, and contributes the most to deceive and pillage innocent nations, and ignominiously to load their members with chains of servitude. Have we not great reason to fear lest the people, lately incorporated to other governments, may be enticed to play similar tragedies of *Liberty* and *Equality*, and withdraw themselves, by open violence, from their new masters; lest the most trifling deviation from a careful circumspection of the new governments may produce an eruption not to be stopped?

The recovery of these countries by Austria, and the aggrandizement of *Prussia* and *Poland*, appear, therefore, to me, a precarious tenure; but, with respect to France, affairs must be regarded in

another light, of which I will endeavour to give a statement, as soon as I have closed my observations on the other states of *Europe*, which formerly influenced France, or were principally connected with her.

LETTER VII.

DEAR SIR,

IN conformity to my promise, I now resume my observations on the states of Europe.

Holland, as is universally known, and which she knows from woeful experience, is plundered of her riches, deprived of her commerce, and what is the most lamentable circumstance of all, has lost her unity. The mutual jealousy reigning among her provinces, has, for want of a central point of union, of late greatly increased, and continues still to increase. This country is therefore entirely fettered by *France*, and must, as I shall hereafter state, continue to remain so, without the hope of seeing her commerce rise again to any considerable pitch of greatness, so long as she retains her present connections; and, though her India possessions should be restored to her, is situated as

she is at present—and for this reason “*Belgium* belongs to *France*.”

The interior strength of Holland is but insignificant; its soil is as turf-moor, made habitable; and, on that account, preserved, at a great expence, against the inroads of the sea; and a part of it is annually converted into cinders. Speculations, commerce, brokerage, and fishery, by which the industrious, and once brave inhabitants of the *Seven United Provinces*, gained such immense wealth, must still suffer a depression, and that as soon as Catholic Netherlands have opened their new career: and the advantages which it may obtain by the intended free navigation on the *Rhine* will not be equal to the loss, which it must unavoidably sustain by the opening of the *Scheldt*. In fine, the constellation of Holland, which, under her former constitution, situation, and connections, was resplendant with gold, will suffer an eclipse, and become the leaden Saturn.

Spain cannot at present be regarded in any other light than a tributary power, entirely dependent on France. She has formerly, under the reigns of the French Kings, been allured into the same motions, and acted in conformity to the will of the *Bourbons* at *Paris*; and has, therefore, in their wars been often obliged to pay the reckoning. The acceptance of the nephew of a great and powerful neighbour, to be her King, gave rise to

national sorrow; that was, however, but momentary.

But now the Spaniard is left to execrate the horrible tyranny, the unprincipled ambition of the French Directory, who, by their lawless and despotic government, oblige the miners of Spain to forward their metals to the coffers of those who are in a temporary enjoyment of republican power. The Pyrenean mountains now grow masts for the French marine; and the cochineal of her colonies now dyes the theatrical trappings of the directors, and *that* without being paid for; those parts of both Indias, which are in the possession of Spain, are obliged to deliver up their productions to France, at such prices as are fixed by the five despots; and the principles of Liberty disfigured by Licentiousness, are already transplanted into South America, and may soon deprive the great and venerable trunk of the Spanish monarchy, of the leaves extended by its branches over the seas. This will be sooner accomplished by the poisonous juice of anarchy poured on the root; and must therefore tend greatly to dispatch the overthrow of this powerful state. To witness the fall of such a noble and great nation; which was once the imperial governess of both worlds, affords a rich but melancholy supply of pensive consideration to the contemplative observer; who, to the wishes of the lovers of order, unites this one; that this alliance, in appearance

so fatal to a great kingdom, may prove a caution to other states, which are not yet subverted, and may be a sufficient stimulus to rouse them from their lethargy.

No man, possessed of a grain of feeling for the natural rights of mankind, can possibly fix his eyes on Italy without dissatisfaction. Nor can he for a moment cease to execrate the conduct of a swarm of daring and shameless men, who fell upon that unhappy country with *barpy-claws*, and ich-nographically pillaged and plundered friends and foes of whatever was valuable; who murdered, destroyed, burnt, and laid waste whatever opposed their ferocious designs. And yet these are the men who have the impudent assurance to talk of the rights of man, and to preach up *Liberty*.

We have till now neither experienced, in ancient nor modern times, the commission of such enormous outrages with impunity: and even the last desolation of Rome by the troops of the *Connetable of Bourbon*, shocking as the description of that event appears recorded by the pens of Guicciardi, Brautome, and others, only proves what raw vagabonds, accustomed to live by war and rapine, are capable of committing, when goaded on by hunger, and unrestrained by the arm of command; when irritated to the extreme,

from obstinate resistance, and become impetuous with rage, and unsubjected to their leaders.

At the commencement of the *sixteenth* century all the horrors which were then committed originated with famished hirelings, eager to gratify the cravings of nature. But *now*, at the end of the eighteenth century, nothing like these powerful incentives exists. Yet every cruelty, every ignominious act of a *barbarous age*, has been perpetrated, by the commands of enlightened philosophers; and such violations of Liberty, both civil and religious, have Frenchmen been guilty of, that posterity will blush at their recollection, and erase the names of these philosophers from the annals of the enlightened part of mankind.

To make you fully sensible of this, I will, in my following letter, consider what, it may be presumed, will be the sentiments of the impartial historian, when, after the lapse of some years, and peace and tranquillity are restored, he sits down to describe the transactions of the present war.

LETTER VIII.

DEAR SIR,

IN conformity to the promise that concluded my last letter, I will now give you a sketch of what it appears to me a faithful historian will say, when he narrates in future times, the events which have taken place during the last and the present year.

“ The years 1797 and 1798 were exceedingly favourable to the arms of the French Republic in Italy: to such an extent did success attend them, that the remaining hostile powers were inclined to conclude a peace.

“ Austria, the only powerful continental enemy, forsaken by all her allies (except England, still the protectress of order amongst mankind, and mindful of the cause of humanity,) could, after immense sacrifices on the Rhine, only oppose the French in Italy, with an inconsiderable number of her forces, who were overwhelmed by French legions poured in upon them in swarms: this country they regarded as the last mine; to open which, there appeared no great difficulty. Italy was then rich in silver and precious effects; her

different states viewed each other with an eye of jealousy ; mistrust and fear arose out of their mutual weakness. Sometimes the French condescended to flatter, at others they threatened Venice and Genoa ; and these two republics were obligated to submit to the capricious humour of France, their overgrown, dangerous, and unnatural sister. They occasionally ventured to remonstrate, but prudently complied with her exorbitant demands, without, in any respect, violating their neutrality with the Austrian monarch, their neighbour and sincere friend.

“ Mantua, the chief but last depôt of the Emperor’s valourous, but debilitated, forces, was obliged to capitulate ; necessity, however, forced this measure : meagre famine stared them in the face.

“ After a siege of eight months, after they had shewn, by their inflexible and magnanimous defence, how far the new republicans were entitled to the name of heroes ; assumed by them always with arrogance, and, in the big-swalling words of bombast, the Austrians relinquished the contest, and gave up a fortress exceedingly strong, but no longer tenable.

“ After this conquest the French soon possessed themselves of impotent Rome. We have already adverted to the means of which they made use to

overpower *Sardinia*, and force the King to make peace; we have noticed the inability of the King of Naples to oppose their demand of separating himself from the Emperor, to whom he was allied by ties of consanguinity. By reminding *Bologna* and *Ferrara* of their former independence, they artfully withdrew those states from the interest of the Pope. By a similar stratagem, the suggestion of deep cunning, with the newly-conquered countries of *Milan*, their arms were successful against the House of Austria.

“ By having recourse to these and various other schemes, and aided by discontented parties, of which there are always some to be found under the best governments, they formed a considerable mass of countries into separate republics; who in part voluntarily, and in part compulsatorily, assisted their armies with money, provisions, ammunition, clothes, and men.

“ As soon as the generals of the French republic, two bold, enterprising, and sensible men, of *Italian* descent, were assured of their safety in the North and South of Italy, they forced the helpless Pope into a humiliating peace. They extorted from him, not only his private treasure, but interrogated him respecting his jewels; they possessed themselves of his other valuables, and left him nothing but his ring, which he held, by virtue of his spiritual office. By force and vio-

lence, they exacted from the country immense contributions in money; they robbed the innocent people of almost all that was worth taking; they, in fine, committed such depredations, that the victims of their rapacity will not be able to recover from them for a series of years.

“ The Directory then sent from Paris a deputation of scientific men, who executed the disgraceful office of the *Señores et Exatores* of the old Romans: these persons selected all that Rome had been collecting for many centuries * whatever was scarce, whatever was precious, what was to be found no where else, in any spot of the globe; the labours of artists of the most eminent talents, both ancient and modern; to examine, to admire, and to copy which, many thousand of artists and travellers from the different parts of the world annually visited Rome; and spent large sums in that city, in the gratification of a noble desire after knowledge and wisdom. By this influx of strangers the greater part of the lower class of the people gained their livelihood, but were, on a sudden, left to repent of their credulity, and the fallacious representations of unknown and unexperienced prosperity.

“ The leaders of the French troops, improved by experience, and taught by the fate of former

* See a list of the collections at the end of this letter.

conquerors of Italy, did not, like those, remain at Rome, blinded with victory, but directed by Buonaparte, chief in command, pushed away to the North, and, in rapid marches, set forward to meet such Austrian reinforcements, as hastened to face them. By his superior force, the French general drove back the Emperor's columns, and with undaunted intrepidity boldly advanced into the interior of his dominions.

"The whole of Lombardy, which comprehends almost the whole of ancient Cis-alpine Gaul, and even the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Lucca, allied with France, were furrounded, and beset by French troops, at the very moment when Austria was unable to afford these states any assistance. Buonaparte, with shameless impudence, then came forward with his grand scheme of depredation and dismemberment of his native country, by the command, or rather by the permission of his Parisian supreme Directory.

"He endeavoured, upon his entrance into these countries, to obtain the support of the discontented, and to gain the affection of the indigent, which he accomplished by means of numerous emissaries sent to irritate the people against the established order of things. By such characters a vigorous spirit of dissatisfaction was set afloat, and more widely extended here than elsewhere, and, of course, rooted more deeply than could

have been done in monarchical governments. But the greater part of the inhabitants of these republics were, however, convinced of the comforts which they enjoyed; and being satisfied with them, were ready to oppose a party, allured by the plausible offers of the French, to come over to their interest, and bent upon seconding their designs.

“ The commander of the French troops had, by such malicious intrigues, sown the seed of disunion, and, by so doing, strengthened himself with a pretext to become, with arms in his hands, the mediator of, and peace-maker in, these republics; who were amicable to France, and to whose friendship Buonaparte, and the country he served, was principally indebted for all the successes which he had heretofore obtained in the war.

“ Invited by the feeblest party, consisting of the vulgar and poorer class of the people, who flattered themselves with the prospect of a share in rapine and plunder, he invaded the republics of Italy, and covered his designs under the cloak of manifestos, in which he asserted friendship and protection, but secretly held truth and honour at defiance, and, with all his forces, fell upon the victims of his dishonest rapacity.

“ He crushed the whole of their constitutions, and at once robbed them of the security, the comfort, the happiness, which they once enjoyed; he

seized upon their most considerable and most fertile provinces ; he plundered them of the scarcest relics and the most valuable productions of arts and literature : he extorted from them such immense sums of money, that the bank of Venice, hitherto regarded as secure and firm, became insolvent, and was obliged to stop payment.

Such was the conduct of the *enlightened* French towards countries in alliance with them. But they stopped not here. Success only tended to increase their rapacity. Their insolence took fresh strides.

“ They then concluded *preliminaries* of peace with the house of *Austria* ; and stipulated therein to open a congress at Rastadt, a city in the Marquisate of Baden, in the circle of Suabia in Germany, in order to settle all differences with the German empire. By this treaty with *Austria* they annihilated the antient Republic of Venice, and indemnified the Emperor for the loss of *Belgium* with the remaining part of the empire. But they did not forget themselves : they took possession of the richest and most considerable of the *Venetian islands* ; of *Cerigo*, *Zephalonia*, *Maura*, *Paxo*, and *Corfu*, to which they joined the cities of *Butrinto* and *Voniza*, and its environs in *Lower-Albania*, and joined the whole to the French republic.

Notwithstanding the ratification and conclusion of peace with the house of *Austria*, the French perceived that something still remained in the Pope's dominions worth their attention. They, therefore, in spite of these and former treaties, drove his Holiness, verging on the brink of the grave through old age, and formed of the remainder of his states, a new Roman republic; this afforded them another opportunity to gratify their insatiable desires for plunder.

"The Swiss republic had been one of the first allies of France; by her means, she was rescued from famine. To reward the noble conduct of the Swiss, who had lived, for a number of years under a Government formed by themselves, in peace and tranquillity, the French, having recourse to their usual expedient, disseminated discord among them, merely for the purpose of creating a pretext for sending an army into the country; to rob them of their treasures; to force upon them a new constitution, resembling their own; and, by dividing their sentiments, to undermine their strength.

"From the beginning of the revolution they endeavoured to raise a faction, friendly to their interest, in *Geneva*, an ancient republic, on the confines of *France* and *Switzerland*; they now thought a favourable opportunity offered of making an acquisition of it; and by their art-

ful machinations reduced the inhabitants to apply for permission to be joined to the *Great Nation*.

“ This, on the part of the French, was another violation of the peace made with the Emperor; by adding the most populous city* of Switzerland and the territories of that republic to their own, under the denomination of the department of the Lake Lemman (Le Lac Lemman,) they infringed upon the preliminaries already mutually agreed upon between them and his Imperial Majesty.

“ While they were treating at the Congress of Rastadt for a general continental peace, they reflected that there was yet remaining a strong rich island in the Mediterranean, well stored with ammunitions; and to which great riches had been sent from the countries suffering by the war; but principally from *Loretto*, become immensely rich from the donations of the religious; who, to a considerable number, were in the habit of making pilgrimages thither, and of leaving behind them presents proportionable to their abilities. The Directory immediately dispatched a large force to *Malta*, and obtained possession of that island, through the medium of treachery. A fact that has been fully proved in the conduct of the *Grand*

* The city of Geneva contains 241,000 souls.

Master, and some of his perfidious adherents, as well as by the articles of surrender agreed upon between him and the French general. By these articles they agreed, in defiance of all the Sovereigns who had sent their plenipotentiaries to *Rastadt*, to indemnify the Grand Master of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, with a principality in Germany of 300,000 livres (12,500*l.*) annual revenue; and thereby puzzled the envoys, who were, already, embarrassed enough to find out means of indemnifying the other German Princes for the losses sustained by them, in ceding their dominions on the left bank of the *Rhine*. This, however, was a subject beneath the care of the Directory, who made of this acquisition a new department, and added it to the overgrown republic of France.

“ They deprived the King of Naples * of *Messina*, a large city in Sicily, containing 60,000 souls, in the same manner as they had done the King of Sardinia, of the citadel of *Turin*. This last robbery, instead of satisfying the rapacious Directory, only urged them on to the invasion of Egypt, and the capture of *Alexandria*.

* It appears now by the correspondence of Garrat, with respect to the King of *Naples*, that the time seems near at hand when the French will throw off even their disguise which they have hitherto worn in their transactions with those petty Princes of *Italy*, whom they still suffer to sit trembling on their tottering thrones.

“ Although they had concluded a peace with the Kings of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, and entered into alliance with them; the former of these monarchs they terrified by threats, and forced the latter into a new convention, wherein it was stipulated that he should again pay to France three millions of livres; abolish all titles, armorial bearings, feudal rights, and privileges of the nobility; that the estates of the clergy should become security for the circulating of paper money; and that the *Sardinian* army should be reduced to 5,000 men, &c.

“ By consenting to these ignominious articles of the new convention, the King of *Sardinia* was obliged to capitulate to the French in fact, though not in form; and his dominions became, in consequence of that consent, a prey to the first pretext, which might occur, for raising a quarrel.”

Such have been the exploits of modern philosophers. And the deeds of the French, in 1797 and 1798, will be told in future times, in a manner similar to that in which they have been just narrated; but yet the historian will deliver plain truths, and undeniable facts.

We must acknowledge that *Attila*, with the *Huns*, the *Schach Nadir*, and other reputed robbers, were merely wretched noviciates in acts

of rapin, when we compare them with the reigning masters of that profession. The atrocity of their conduct is in proportion to the civilization of the different ages in which they have lived. And this the French pretend to call an enlightened age; but to speak like reasonable beings, we may denominate it, as far as it relates to them, the reverse of illumination.

It is enough that Italy is revolutionized; and the Italian has every reason to thank God that, whatever losses he may have sustained, the fertile and excellent soil of his country still remain the same as heretofore. Buonaparte was well acquainted with his native country. He was to Italy, the angel *Jesrad* of *Zadig**; who killed the only son of a widow for having received him with hospitality; who burned the habitation of another generous man over his head, to reward him for the good entertainment which he had afforded him; and who stole the golden goblet, from which he had taken a refreshing draught.

Buonaparte executed all his deeds in Italy from this motive of morality,—that his good countrymen should no longer fix their affection on things of a transitory nature. Poor Italians! They are now again obliged to return to their acre and plough, from which they are sure of

* *Zadig*: *Oeuvres de Voltaire*, vol. 56.

a reward. The benevolent and careful angel has taken away the golden cup, and every thing else that he deemed perishable.

It is true, that France, while under the government of her monarchs, gave frequent proofs of her national impetuosity; but let it be remembered, that, under the reign of her Kings, she never stooped to the profession of a low brigand. Although the wicked Louvois caused the desolation of the *Palatinate of the Rhine*, Marshal *Turenne*, the great commander in chief, uttered a sigh, upon the receipt of the order for its execution. He, however, lessened the calamities of war, as much as he could; he refused a large sum of money which was offered him by the free imperial city of *Frankfort on the Maine*, and even melted down his own plate, for the maintenance of his brave foldiers. This conduct was worthy of a hero sprung from a true French race! What a contrast, when compared with *Buonaparte* and his system of exaction of plunder!

The French nation, though guilty of many improprieties, never before committed infamies of such a nature, and with such cool reflection, as they have done in the progress of this war. On the contrary, the disposition of her mind has often, notwithstanding her arrogance, induced her to act, in the midst of her enormities, with loyal affection and generous demeanour. The military

at *Lyons*, under Charles the *Ninth*, absolutely refused to massacre the imprisoned Huguenots; and the ferocious commands for murder were likewise manfully resisted by several governors of the provinces. But the new republic has repeatedly, and in a most distinguished manner, branded the nation with disgrace.

She first imbrued her iron hand in the blood of her noble monarch. A man of a most benevolent heart, of a disposition to conciliate the esteem of all; but in the act of doing which, he fell a sacrifice to his good intentions. Amongst all her other atrocities, the universal and systematic depredations of her new government, and its generals will never be forgotten: they will ever blot the page of history. A traveller, when he beholds the spoils of Italy, the valuable collections, the rarities of the liberal arts forcibly taken away and set up in Paris, his soul will be pierced with anguish, and he will be ready to doubt whether he himself will escape, with his life and property, from this new cave of *Cacus*.

“ Hic Cacus, horrendum Tiberino gurgite monstrum.”

OVID.

What advantages the new republic will derive from these acquisitions so ignominiously obtained, I shall make the consideration of some following letters, when I treat upon France in particular.

*Master-Pieces taken from Rome,**Statues, Busts, and Vases.**Apollo of Belvedere.**Meleager.**The Torso of Belvedere.**Antonius, (taken from the Vatican.)**Adonis.**Hercules Commodus.**Appollo Musagetes.**Discobolus.**A Faun, with a flute in his hand,**The Torso of the Cupido.**Paris.**Zenon.**Discobolus, the second.**Julius Cæsar.**Augustus.**Tiberius in the Toga.**Hadrianus.**Phocion.**Demosthenes.**Sardanapalus.**Sextus Empiricus.**Antonius, (taken from the Capitolium.)**Melpomene. } different from the following.**Urania.**Venus.**Juno.**Flora.**Ariadne.**A Vestalin.**The little Ceres.**An Amazone.**Minerva.**Hygea.**Urania.*

Terpsichore.

Polyhymnia.

Melpomene.

Clio.

Calliope.

Euterpe.

Erato.

Trajanus.

Posidippus.

Menander.

A shepherd, drawing a thorn out of his foot.

The dying gladiator.

A *Venus* seated.

Cleopatra.

Laocoon.

Amor and *Psyche.*

Jupiter.

Homerus.

Alexander.

Jupiter Serapis.

Menelaus.

Junius Brutus, of bronze, } from the *Capitolium*.
Marcus Brutus, of marble, }

Oceanus.

Cato and *Portia.*

Two *Sphinxes.*

Three *Candelabrum*s.

Three *Altars.*

The Tomb of the *Muses.*

The river *Tiber.*

Sundry other pieces.

II. Pictures.

The Glorification.

The Ascension.

The crowning of *Maria.* } by *Raphael.*

The Virgin.

The Annunciation.

The Adoration of the *Magi.*

The Baptism of *Jesus Christ*.

Faith, Hope, and Charity.

The resurrection of *Jesus Christ*.

} by *Raphael*.

The Resurrection.

The Saint Family.

St. *Augustinus* and the Virgin.

The marriage of the Virgin.

The Virgin and the Saint from *Perusa*.

The Prophets.

St. *Benedictus*.

St. *Placida*.

St. *Scholastica*.

The eternal Father.

} by *P. Perugino*.

St. *Sebastianus*.

St. *Augustinus*.

St. *Bartholomes*.

St. *Paul*.

St. *John*.

The Virgin.

The taking from the cross.

A Virgin.

The Circumcision.

St. *Petronilla*.

} by *Guercino*.

St. *Thomas*.

St. *Hieronymus*.

The Martyr-death of St. *Agnes*.

} by *Dominichino*.

The taking from the cross, by *Caravaggio*.

Pieta.

Nativita.

} by *Hannibal Caracci*.

St. *Romnaldus*.

A Miracle.

} by *Andro Sacchi*.

A Virgin.

St. *Francis*.

} by *Alfani*.

Fortuna.

The Martyr-death of St. *Peter*.

} by *Guido*.

The Virgin, by *Garofalo*.

The Martyr-death of St. *Erasmus*, by *Poussin*.

The Martyr-death of St. *Gervasius*, by *Valentin*.

The Virgin of St. *Hieronymus*, } by *Correggio*.
The Virgin with a dish,

The Coronation, by *Titian*.

St. *Sebastianus*, by *Procaccini*.

III. Objects designed for the museum of natural history.

The *Herbarium* of *Haller*.

A selection of volcanic substances.

Minerals from P. *Pini* of *Milano*.

Minerals of the institution at *Bologna*.

The *Herbarium* of *Aldrovande*, in 16 volumes.

A selection of all kinds of marble and precious stones, of the institution at *Bologna*.

Written figures by *Aldrovande*, in 17 volumes.

Points of crystal-rock.

The greater part of these objects were taken in *Lombardy*, some others at *Rome* and *Venice*, of which the Inventory has not yet been made.

IV. Objects designed for the national library, and the national institute.

Manuscripts of the *Ambrosian* library.

———— of the library of *Brera*,

———— of the Abby St. *Salvador* at *Bologna*,

The donations which have been made in the year 490 and 491 to the church at *Ravenna*, on *Papyrus*.

Manuscript of antiquities of *Josephus*, on *Papyrus*.

———— of the history of the Popes,

———— of *Virgilius* which belonged formerly to *Petrarca*, with notes of his hand writing.

———— written by *Gallilei*, on fortifying, and on the flux and reflux.

The *Cartoon* of the works of *Leonardo da Vinci*.

Twelve manuscripts of *da Vinci* on sciences.

Anatomical Tables of *Haller*, with additions and amendments of his own hand writing.

Old publications from the *Ambrosian* library.

————— Abby St. *Salvador*.

————— University of *Pavia*.

Old publications from the Library of the Institution at
Bologna.

Five hundred manuscripts taken from the library of the
Vatican.

Master-Pieces taken in *Miland.*

I. From the *Ambrosian* library.

The cartoon of the School of *Athen*, by *Raphael*.

A *Maria*, by *Luissini*.

A *Maria* with flowers, by *Rubens*.

A Concert, by *Giorgio*.

A *Maria*, by *Lucas* of *Leiden*.

A Woman's head, by *Leonardo da Vinci*.

A soldier and a old man, by *Calabrese*.

A *Hetrurian* Vase, representing fundry figures, with ornaments.

A manuscript, on *Egyptian Papyrus*, about 1100 years old, containing: The History of the Jews, by *Flavius Josephus*, translated by *Rufinus*.

II. From *Alla Gracie*.

A coronation with thorns, by *Titian*.

St. Paul, by *Gaudenzo Ferrari*.

III. From *Alla Vittoria*.

A Glorification, by *Salvator Rosa*.

Master-Pieces taken in *Parma.*

I. From the academy in *Parma*.

A *Maria* with *St. Hieronymus*, by *Correggio*.

A Picture, by *Schidone*.

An adoration, by *Majolla*.

II. From the *Capucins*.

A Dog, by *Guercino*.

A *Maria*, and several Saints, by *Caracci*.

III. From the Church of *St. Paul*.

A Christ, with *St. Paul* and *St. Catharina*, by *Raphael*.

- IV. From the Church of the *Madonna della Steccato*.
The Affiance of *Maria*, by *Procaccini*.
- V. From the Church of *St. John*.
A taking from the cross, by *Correggio*.
- VI. From the Church of the *Capucins*.
Maria and *St. Francis*, by *Guercino*.
- VII. From the Church, *Del Sepolcro*.
A *Modonno della Scodella*, by *Correggio*.
- VIII. From *St. Rochus*.
Several Saints, by *Frainingo*.
A *St. Rochus*, by *Paul Veronese*.
A Glorification, by *Spagnoletto*.
St. Benediclus, by *Lanfranco*.
- IX. From *St. Quintinus*.
The Baptism, by *Frainingo*.
- X. From *St. Andreas*.
A Picture, by *Spagnoletto*.
- XI. From *St. Michael*.
A *Maria*, by an apprentice of *Correggio*.
- XII. From *St. Paul*.
A *Maria*, by *Augustin Caracci*.
- XIII. From the Cathedral at *Piacenza*.
Two Pictures, by *Luigi Caracci*.
A Picture, by *Procaccini*.

The Gallery of *Modena*, *Rome* and *Venice* have furnished many other pictures, antiquities, and remarkable curiosities, of which the inventory has not yet been made. According to the treaty of peace with the Pope, concluded at *Bologna* the 23d of June, in 1796, in its 8th Article, it was agreed that 200 Statues, Busts, Vases, or Pictures, and 500 manuscripts, should be given up to *France*.

On the 29th of July, in 1798, the French Directory had, by the celebrated feast at *Paris*, the shamelessness to distribute, through their president, Medals, on one side of which was a figure of *France*, on the reverse this legend—"The Sciences and Arts grateful." to the French scholars and artists who were sent into *Italy* to regulate

and superintend the plunder of the relics of antiquity, and of the monument of the arts. A pompous speech was made on this occasion, in which these learned agents of robbery were assured of the eternal gratitude of their country, in whose name these medals were presented.

(To be joined as an appendix to the objects of sciences robbed in Italy.)

From the *Echo*, No. 219, the 9th and 10th Thermidor.

* Fêtes de la liberté, et entrée triomphale des objets des sciences & d'arts, *recueillis en Italie*.

D'après ce programme, on y verra 29 chars dont voici la destination.

Sur les deux premiers chars, feront, les quatre chevaux antiques, de bronze doré, qui décoraient l'Eglise St. Marc à la place Saint Marc à Venise.

Inscription : (Chevaux transportés, de Corinthe à Rome, & de Rome à Constantinople; de Constantinople à Venise; & de Venise en France).

" Ils sont enfin dans une terre libre."

Sur le 3^e. char,

Seront placés, Apollon & Clio; Inscription :

" Tous deux ils rediront nos combats, nos victoires."

Sur le 4^e.

Melpomène et Thalie; Inscription :

" L'une poursuit les crimes, l'autre les vices."

Sur le 5^e.

Erato & Therpsycore; Inscription :

" Elles consolent & charment les mortels."

Sur le 6^e.

Calliope & Euterpe; Inscription :

" De Pindare & d'Horace elles montaient les lyres."

Sur le 7°.

Uranie & Polymnie ; Inscription :

" L'univers obéit aux lois de l'harmonie."

Sur le 8°.

Une vestale portant le feu sacré ; Inscription :

" L'amour de la patrie est le feu sacré des français."

Sur le 9°.

L'Amour & Psyché ;

Sur le 10°.

La Vénus du Capitole ;

Sur le 11°.

Le Mercure du Belvédère ;

Sur le 12°.

Vénus & Adonis ;

Sur le 13°.

L'Antinoüs Égyptien, & l'Antinoüs de Belvédère ;

Sur le 14°.

Le Tireur d'épine, & le Discobole ;

Sur le 15°.

Le Gladiateur mourant ;

Sur le 16°.

Le Méléagre & une Amazone ;

Sur le 17°.

Trajan ;

Sur le 18°.

L'Hercule commode ;

Sur le 19°.

Marcus Brutus ; Inscription :

" Il frappa le tyran & non la tyrannie," Legouvé.

Sur le 20°.

Caton & Porcie ; Et Zénon ; Inscription :

" Il faut cesser de vivre, en cessant d'être libre."

Sur le 21°.

Démosthène ; Inscription :

" Des orateurs fameux le modèle & le maître."

Sur le 22°.

Pofidippe ;

Sur le 23°.

Ménandre ; Inscription :

“ *La comédie apprend à rire sans aigreur,*”

“ *Et plus innocemment dans les vers de Ménandre.*”

BOILEAU,

Sur le 24°.

La Santé ; Inscription :

“ *Compagne fidelle de l'homme tempérant.*”

Sur le 25°.

Cérès ; Inscription :

“ *Que Cérès des mortels soit à jamais chérie,*

“ *C'est le premier sillon qui fixa la patrie.*”

LE BRUN,

Sur le 26°.

Le Laocoon ;

Sur le 27°.

L'Apollon du Belvédère.

Viendra ensuite une bannière sur laquelle on lira : *Tableaux.*

“ *Artistes, accourez ! vos maîtres sont ici.*”

Sur le 28°.

La transfiguration de Raphaël & quelques autres de ses chefs-d'œuvres, des tableaux du Dominiquin, de Jules Romain, &c. ;

Inscription :

(École Romaine) “ *Inventa, tu vivas.*”

Sur le 29°.

Des tableaux de Titien, de Paul Véronèse, &c. ; Inscription :

(École Vénitienne) “ *Iris de ses couleurs embellit leurs palettes.*”

Six autres chars particuliers contiendront des manuscrits ; des livres rares ; des médailles, &c. Le cortège partira de la rive gauche de la Seine, près le *Muséum d'Histoire naturelle*, à 10 ou 11 heures : on y verra des *pétrifications de Véronne*, comme monument de l'antiquité du Globe ; deux lions & une lionne ; un ours de Berne ; deux chameaux & deux dromadaires ; ainsi que les deux blocs de crystal donnés par les habitans du Valais à la république française ; le tout comme objets curieux d'histoire naturelle.

Après les chars viendra le buste antique de Junius Brutus, porté par les défenseurs de la patrie. Le piédestal ou l'autel sur lequel il fera posé, aura pour inscription ce passage de Tacite :

*" Rome fut gouvernée d'abord par les Rois. Junius Brutus lui
" donna la liberté & la république."*

On lira encore cet hémistiche de Voltaire :

" Rome est libre, il suffit —————"

Après le buste de Brutus, marcheront les commissaires envoyés en Italie, par le gouvernement, pour la recherche des objets des sciences & des arts. Ils porteront à leur chapeau une plume tricolore, & à la main une couronne de laurier. Un nombreux détachement de troupes fermera la marche,

Le cortège s'avancera dans cet ordre, en suivant toujours les boulevards neufs, ceux des invalides, &c. jusqu'au Champ-de-Mars. Au moment de l'arrivée du cortège, le ministre de l'intérieur, entouré de l'institut national des sciences & arts, sera placé aux pieds de la statue de la liberté.

Des copies des statues d'Apollon & des Muses décoreront l'autel de la patrie. D'autres copies des principales statues recueillies en Italie, & des trophées formés par les attributs des beaux arts, décoreront toute son enceinte extérieure. Tous les chars seront rangés dans l'arène du Champ-de-Mars, sur trois lignes : les objets d'histoire naturelle, à gauche de l'autel de la patrie ; les livres & manuscrits, à droite : les monumens antiques & les tableaux, au milieu. Les membres du cortège se réuniront en demi cercle autour des chars. Le buste de Brutus sera déposé sur une cippe devant la statue de la liberté. Celui d'Homère sera placé sur une autre cippe, au milieu des savans & artistes qui composeront le cortège.

Le conservatoire de la musique fera une première répétition du poëme séculaire d'Horace, musique de Philidos. Les commissaires d'Italie s'avanceront ensuite sur l'autel de la patrie, & remettront au ministre de l'intérieur la liste des objets qu'ils ont recueillis. Le ministre au nom des savans & des artistes, leur adressera des remerciemens pour les soins qu'ils ont pris de ces précieux objets dans leur long & périlleux voyage, à travers la chaîne des Apennins. Le conservatoire exécutera l'ode du citoyen le Brun, musique du

citoyen Lefueur. Une salve d'artillerie annoncera la fin des cérémonies.

Le soir, la maison du Champ-de-Mars sera illuminée ainsi que le cirque. Des orchestres seront placés dans la moitié de l'arène située vers la rivière. Des danfes termineront la fête.

Le lendemain, 10 Thermidor, à 3 heures après midi, il y aura encore une fête au Champ-de-Mars, pour les présentations des monumens au directoire, le président distribuera à chacun des commissaires à la surveillance de ces objets, une médaille sur laquelle sera gravée une figure de la France; & de l'autre, cette légende: *Les sciences & les arts reconnaissans*. Les membres du directoire couvriront de lauriers le buste de Brutus; on exécutera des évolutions militaires; ensuite un aérostat orné de guirlandes & couvert d'inscriptions, enlèvera dans les airs, les attributs de la liberté & des arts, surmontés de drapeaux tricolores.

Il y aura illumination & danfes comme la veille,

LETTER IX,

DEAR SIR,

YOU have, in my former letters, seen depicted the condition of the principal states, which are most approximate in their relation to France; and how far the revolution has already operated on one part of them, and what influence it may have on the other parts. Some of them have been so thoroughly ransacked, and entirely crushed, that they will

not be able to recover their strength for some considerable time. Some have lost their interior energy, or at least a part thereof; and others have only acquired an inadequate, and a precarious advantage, to enable them to repair their real losses. But some states in the south, of less influence, still remain. These are, *Switzerland*, *Portugal*, and *Turkey*. The first I shall have occasion to notice in my observations on *France*; and the others, will fall in with those on *Russia*.

But in the north there are three empires which deserve to be strictly attended to in this place.

The conduct of *Scandinavia*, during this revolution, has been guided by the principles of interest; it has remained neutral, with an eye to the opportunity afforded of accumulating riches. This, in part, was excusable. Denmark, but principally *Sweden*, had not much to lose, and could not therefore, on account of internal troubles, take an active part. A fleet, however, of sixty men of war, which Denmark and Sweden jointly were able to furnish, would have been certainly no insignificant force in the embryo-state of the French republic.

But however reasonable and just it might appear, that every regular government should have drawn the sword against the principles of desolation, and in support of order; it may, on the

other hand; be no unfair question to ask: How would the loss of men have been replaced, if even the expences incurred by the war had been guarded against? And what indemnification would there have been for the consequent loss of commerce, and the suspension of agriculture?

These are questions proposed by the partizans of the two monarchies alluded to, in opposition to a general censure on their timorous circumspection. I shall therefore, in the sequel, venture some conjectures on the influence which the consideration of the new colossal republic, and her principles, may in future have upon *Scandinavia*; at present, you will permit me, Sir, to be more circumstantial in what I have to say concerning *Russia*.

A great and noble statesman*, some years ago, ventured a publication, (if we can believe that he was the author of it,) in which he seemed panic-struck with the gigantic appearance of this empire.

It is evident, that at that period *Europe*, but principally *Prussia* and all *Germany*, were much

* This publication was sold in *Germany* under the title: *Memoire sur les moyens de prevenir les dangers d'une alliance entre la Russie & l'Autriche, par my Lord Lansdown, Londres, 1796.* It is evident, that it must have been written after the immense successes of *Potemkin*, and shortly before the second decision on the dismemberment of *Poland*.

agitated by the victories gained by the Russians over the impediments of nature, as well as the opposition of the enemy : and entertained apprehensions of fear, lest these bravados of danger should, at one time or other, turn their arms against them.

His Lordship remarks in the said publication, that *Austria* has never been an immediate enemy of *Russia*, and that a union formed between the powerful Sovereigns of these countries would endanger, nay, would enslave all *Europe*. This remark certainly merits consideration ; for any opposition from *Turkey* cannot be of weight, on account of her inferiority in the art of war, and want of civilization ; she must therefore be only regarded as a country open for *Russia* to plunder.

Indeed, if every state were to be judged solely from its capacity of violating the laws of justice, *Russia* is undoubtedly such a powerful state, that from it all other parts of *Europe* have reason to be under continual apprehension of alarm ; and that consideration must make her so much the more dangerous to her neighbours. *Frederic the Great* was not insensible of this in 1744 *, and

* *Histoire de mon tems*, vol. 2, page 52.

“ Il restoit à prendre des mesures pour ne rien appréhender de ses voisins, sur-tout pour se conserver le dos libre, si l'on se proposoit d'agir d'une autre côté. De tous les voisins de la *Prusse* l'em-

his prophecy, in part, has been fulfilled, not with regard to Prussia; but as it related to Poland and Turkey—Russia had almost, during the whole of the reign of the late Empress Catharine the Second, laid a plan to intimidate all her neighbours; for, even in the moments of seeming tranquillity, she resembled a thunder cloud, which in a still calm, collects electric matter, to emit a sudden clap. She often threatened even remote countries, but, fortunately for them, met with objects nearer home to occupy her ambition.

Catharine was undoubtedly possessed of great talents, and might have been guided by views known only to herself; but her views appeared totally unfavourable to the interest of Russia.

Every state in such a situation is diseased, and labours under a violent paroxysm; even if she

pire de *Russie* mérite le plus d'attention, comme le plus dangereux; il est puissant, il est voisin. Le roi apprehendoit moins le nombre de ses troupes que cet essaim de *Cosaques* & de *Tartares* * qui brûlent les contrées, tuent les habitans ou les amènent en esclavage; ils font la ruine des Etats qu'ils inondent. D'ailleurs à d'autres ennemis on peut rendre le mal pour le mal, ce qui devient impossible à l'égard de la *Russie*, à moins d'avoir une flotte considérable pour protéger & nourrir l'armée qui dirigeroit ses opérations sur *Pétersbourg* même. Dans la vue de se concilier l'amitié de la *Russie*, le Roi mit tout en œuvre pour y parvenir; il poussa même ses négociations jusqu'en *Suède*," &c.

* The *Russian* army consists, besides the above, principally of *Tschermisians*, *Calmuks*, *Baschkirs*, *Ostiacks*, and *Tungusenians*.

makes the best use of the intervals of her feverish fits: the whole body, however, is weakened, and neighbouring countries, at the same time, feel the effects of it. The condition of such a state is truly melancholy and uncertain. This is proved in no country upon earth more effectually than in *Russia*. How can a potent empire, with any degree of satisfaction, spend almost thirty years in the destruction of her interior strength, for the sake of purchasing, with the invaluable drops of her subjects blood, a few more square leagues of uninhabited deserts; when her own surface is already nearly double that of our part of the globe, and, if taken in the aggregate, scarce in men, and barren of domestic animals?

The possession of *Courland*, and the free commerce on the Euxine, is undoubtedly of great consequence to *Russia*; but was it not in her power to have obtained possession of the former, without drawing the sword? and of the latter, without such a continuance of bloody war?

Courland is not only in itself a beautiful and fertile country, the seat of a sensible and well-informed nobility; but it gives to *Russia* a considerable addition of her sea-coast in the Baltic-sea, which enjoys a lower, and therefore a milder climate than almost all her other states situated in that part of the globe. Her sea-ports on that side are therefore not so soon closed up by the in-

tense cold of the winter. The port of *Windau* might be rendered useful: her men of war, and other large vessels, might enter into and remain there in safety.

Taurica Chersonesus, or the *Crimea*, is a most advantageous acquisition in the South. It offers very good sea-ports, and possesses a climate favourable to the production of valuable wines, and of many comforts which the states of Russia do not yield.

Lay the map of Russia before you, look at her situation, and consider whether any power upon earth, with the least share of discretion left, will venture to attack that empire. It is situated, as it were, on the confines of Europe, and evidently lies out of the way; its unmeasurable provinces form a collected mass, which obeys the will of an individual monarch. The greater part of its inhabitants is animated with a fierce boldness that braves all dangers; even death itself. They are judicious and active, and, in the art of war, most reputed in Europe. Before an enemy could possibly make an inroad by land into the interior of Russia, famine would destroy his forces. Her fleets would likewise become a formidable bulwark, and would oppose him with valour, if not with the greatest nautical skill.

Russia has therefore little to fear, directly, from

the increased power of *France*; but the situation of *Austria* is widely different since the peace of Udino. She still, however, is a formidable state, extended over many climates, and properly speaking, deprived of no gift of nature, but men. The productions of other countries, of their soil and manufactures, are brought to her markets in exchange for her own. It would therefore prove of the greatest consequence if her corps diplomatic would fix their attention principally on commercial and agricultural pursuits, if they would consign for ever to oblivion individual altercation, and crooked systems of policy: and if her ministers carefully examine the influence which the French revolution may have on the commercial world, they cannot surely look upon these subjects with indifference.

If the coalesced powers had adopted an open, fair, and generous conduct, the condition of *Europe* would now be otherwise; and the *Hydra* of a republic would have been deprived of her numerous heads, at the very outset of the revolution; and several continental monarchs would not now totter on their thrones.

Russia, full of internal strength, and scarcely within the reach of any foreign Sovereign, has it therefore in her power to act with energy, and may look down with contempt upon threats, of which the execution cannot reach her.

The sublime aim of Russia, and that which properly suits the empire, consists in studying her increase of population, and the cultivation of her soil. Providence has provided her with the means to attain those ends ; with the bounties of nature, she possesses a tractable and a judicious people. If their existence is facilitated, their efficacy multiplied, their minds better informed, the cultivation of agriculture made their study, we might anticipate in Russia a most glorious epoch.

This desirable period is most likely at no great distance. A beautiful morning twilight has already broken forth upon the horizon of that great empire. She is at length blessed with a ruler, the happiness of whose subjects lies nearest his heart ; whose wish it is not to appear, but to be in reality a great monarch and a good man ; whose aim is not to destroy, but to create and bless.

The *Czar Paul Petrowitch* will, nay, he must, hold upright, and preserve the equilibrium of *Europe* ; he must counteract the spirit of anarchy, which, if permitted to spread farther, will carry with it universal desolation.

By this you perceive, Sir, that Russia, acquainted with her true interest, will not, as apprehended by the writer before mentioned, muti-

late Europe ; but will save and protect it with constancy and persevering firmness.

In more than one respect is Russia greatly interested in the present contest. Besides, reflecting on the influence which the delusive sentiment of liberty and equality may have upon the minds of individuals in her large provinces, she cannot behold with indifference the overgrown power of *France*, nor suffer her to go on with attempts to destroy the trade of England, which, with the destruction of this country, her haughty rulers have publicly declared to be their designs. The interest of Russia, in the commerce of England, is of too much importance for the former to permit a diminution thereof. Were it effected, she would be a great loser.

England annually pays several millions of rubles to Russia, for the growth of her soil ; and the decrease of the commerce of *Great Britain*, must likewise diminish her navy, which is chiefly supplied with materials from Russia. This consideration must then have great influence on that empire.

It may be asserted for the sake of argument, "that it is indifferent to *Russia* whether *France* or *England* purchase her commodities." But, for two reasons, this cannot be maintained. First, Can her merchants trade with those of

France upon the same degree of security as they do with those of *Great Britain*? The decision is most assuredly highly in favour of the latter. Secondly, If *France* should retain the conquered countries, and if the *Rhine* remains her boundary, she will not have occasion to purchase from *Russia* commodities to such a large extent. She is more closely connected with *Denmark*, but principally with *Sweden*, whence her merchants will be supplied with a part of the productions of the *North*. Her possessions in the *Mediterranean*; the *Pyrenean* mountains, made the boundary in the late peace concluded with *Spain*, but principally her newly-acquired territories on the *Rhine*, will provide her with the greatest part of those commodities.

Of timber and masts, she can get a plentiful supply from the immense forests of *Alsace*, *Lorraine*, and *Burgundy*; what heretofore have been of no important national utility, will become objects of great value, on account of the free navigation on the *Rhine*. She will receive pitch and tar from the same places; likewise considerable quantities of flax, hemp, and linseed, the growth of the different countries on these rivers. The mines of *Namur* and *Liege* furnish iron in abundance.

But there remains another reason yet, why *Russia* should feel discontented with the conduct of *France*.

France has cautiously endeavoured to liberate herself from the neighbourhood of Austria in the peace concluded with the Emperor, the weight of which must eventually fall on Russia.

I am, &c.

LETTER X.

DEAR SIR,

WE will now return to *France*.

I have, in my former letters, estimated the advantages which this republic may internally derive from the revolution: I will now review the accumulation of her greatness in the conquests which she has made during this war, and the exterior increase of her energy.

I will commence with *Belgium*, for the fate of that rich country appears now to turn irrevocably in favour of *France*.

If *France* had, in any part of Europe, appropriated to herself a country, of which the surface contained 470 square leagues, without reference to its situation, or its interior shape and population;

this would not be a matter of indifference to any of her neighbouring powers. But when that country gives to the sea-coast * of *Old France* an extent of upwards of eighty miles; when it plentifully nourishes about two millions of inhabitants, and is therefore one of the most populous in *Europe*; when it actually furnishes *France* with abundance of those necessaries, of which she was principally in want; when a spirit of industry and commerce is so peculiar to its inhabitants, that *Austria* drew from thence, on the average, a surplus of the annual revenues of upwards of four millions of imperial guilders, (444,000l. sterling;) with what eyes can the whole of *Europe*, but principally *England* and *Germany*, regard such a country, with all these advantages, in the hands of *France*?

Belgium is not an artificial country, that is, a turf-moor gained from the sea, like *Holland*, the precarious existence of which depends upon the height of the waves. Her metropolis does not stand upon perishable piles, which are at the discretion of, and liable to be devoured by, the worms; the navigations on its waters is not liable to be dammed up with accumulated mud

* According to the twelfth article of the treaty of peace concluded between *France* and *Holland*, the whole of the island of *Cadland* in *Flanders*, which was in possession of the Dutch, and commanded the navigation of the *Scheldt*, is ceded; and by the thirteenth article, a French garrison is even to be admitted into the port of *Flushing* during peace and war.

washed in by the sea. Her soil suffers no annual decay by being rendered productive of those necessaries which guard against the cold. All that Belgium possesses she derives from nature, and therefore possesses it with safety. But notwithstanding these advantages, her trade and commerce have been of late years greatly inferior to that of Holland. And how comes this to pass? The reason is obvious. The one had the ability of making a free use of her local situation, and of her internal vigour, while the other was cramped by ancient treaties * ; whereby her ports were shut up, and her commerce oppressed. A short review of her interior structure will afford an idea of her important value.

Without noticing the sea, she is in possession of the following rivers: The *Maese*; the *Scheldt*; the *Sambre*; the *Lys*; the *Scarpe*; the *Haine*; the *Aa*; the *Colme*; the *Dyle*; the *Trouille*; and several smaller ones, of which several have been formed by nature into canals. Those rivers take serpentine windings through different countries, rich in meadows, in corn, flax, timber, and several metals and stones.

The *Maese* traverses the Bishoprics of *Toul* and *Verdun*; the province of *Champaign*; the Duchy

* By the fourteenth article of the treaty of peace concluded at *Munster*, it was agreed upon that the *Scheldt* should be blocked up, and the chief canals at Antwerp should be filled up.

of *Luxemburgh*; the county of *Namur*; the principality of *Liège*; and the *United Provinces*. Her navigation commences at *St. Thiebaut*, and her waters lave *Bourmont*, *Mircourt*, *Newscbateau*, *Commercy*, *St. Michiel*, *Verdun*, *Dun*, *Villefranche*, *Stenay*, *Mouzen*, *Sedan*, *Donchery*, *Mezieres*, *Charleville*, *Revin*, *Tumay*, *Charlemont*, *St. Hilaire*, *Givet*, *Dinant*, *Namur*, *Huy*, *Liege*, *Vise*, *Maestricht*, *Majeyck*, *Ruremonde*, *Venloe*, *Gennep*, *Graave*, *Creve-cœur*, *Heusden*, *Loewenstein*, *Worcum*, *Gorcum*, *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, *Delftsbaven*, *Schiedam*, *Vlardingén*, and the *Brille*. All these places up to *Maestricht* now belong to the new *Republic*. The length of this river is 649 miles, of which 620 miles are navigable.

The *Sambre*, which takes its rise in the village of *Novion*, in the province of *Piccardy*, unites with the *Maese* at the city of *Namur*. By the aid of sluices it is rendered navigable from the city of *Landrecy*; and passes *Le Val*, *Barlemont*, *Ameris*, *St. Remy*, *Maubeuge*, *Marchinne*, *Charleroy*, *Mouffier*, and *Malogne*.

The *Scheldt* traverses the *French* and *Austrian Flanders*, and by forming itself into two branches at *Fort Lillo*, divides the *United Provinces* of *Holland*; it irrigates nine cities now belonging to *France*, commencing from *Cambray*: its navigation commences at *Bouchain*, and continues from *Valenciennes*, *Condé*, *Tournay*, *Oudenarde*, *Ghent*, *Dender-*

monde, to *Antwerp*; the navigation on the *East-Scheldt* is carried on to *Bergen op Zoom*, *Toolen*, and *Zirick-zee*, the islands of *South Beveland*, of *Wolverdyck*, and of *North-Beveland*; and the *Hondt* or *West-Scheldt*, to the island of *Axeler*, on which are *Terneuse* and *Axel*; to the island of *Walcheren*, on which are: *Flushing*, *Middleburgh*, and *Armuyden*. The whole navigable course of this river is 229 miles.

The *Scarpe*, which unites with the *Scheldt* near *Mortagne*, is navigable from the city of *Arras*, and passes by *Donay* and *St. Amand*.

The *Trouille* unites with the *Scheldt*, and passes by the cities of *Mons* and *St. Ghillain*.

The *Lys* unites with the *Scheldt* at *Ghent*; its navigation commences at the city of *Air*, and passes by *St. Venant*, *Armentieres*, and *Menin*.

The *Haine*, which joins the *Scheldt* at *Condé*, is navigable by means of sluices from *Mons* to *Condé*.

The *Aa*, which separates *Piccardy* from *Flanders*, and discharges itself near *Gravelines* into the Ocean. It is made navigable from *St. Omer* by the means of sluices.

The *Colme*, which is properly a branch of the

Aa, runs into the canal of *Dunkirk*, and passes by *Bergue St. Vinox*.

The *Dile* passes by *Malines*, and unites with the *Scheldt*.

The other principal cities in *Belgium*, which are not touched by any of these rivers, have a communication with the *Scheldt* by means of canals. The operative circle of the *Scheldt* is from the city of *Mons* to the Sea ; upwards of two hundred miles. Its mouth is wide and deep. In former times the largest vessels sailed with the greatest safety up to the port of *Antwerp*. Eight chief canals conducted many hundred of them as far into that city as the reputed house of *Oesterlingen*. By this extensive navigation *Antwerp* became very opulent, and was generally known by the distinguished appellations of " the rich city * ; the mercantile city." The before-mentioned, and, for her, very unfortunate, treaty in 1648, closed her port, and stopped her maritime commerce ; nevertheless, her choice manufactures and trade in those articles of merchandize which she received from the Dutch, and transported into the interior parts,

* Numerous rich merchants resided at that time at *Antwerp*. *John Daens*, when he gave in his house an entertainment to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, made him a present of one million in gold, which he was indebted to the said *Daens* on burning the deed at the fire which was lighted in the chimney with cinnamon.

still supported the city, and nourished 70,000 souls*.

England strained every nerve, and spared no expence to shut the port of *Dunkirk*. Not only the *Scheldt*, but this port, is now open, and, jointly with the port of *Ostend*, present much greater advantages to *France*. *Ostend*, situated between the *British Channel* and the *North Sea*, receives vessels of considerable burden, borne by the tide on the small river or creek of *Gouloose* into her harbour. Notwithstanding the difficulty of entrance into this port, it is well known, that, during and since the *American war*, *Ostend* has been declared a free port: eight hundred vessels † have sometimes rode there in safety at anchor.

The excellent combination-canal which goes from hence to *Bruges*, carries on to *Ghent* vessels of two hundred tons burden; and the port of *Bruges*, which is in the interior of the country, about ten miles from the sea, is sufficiently spacious to contain one hundred vessels. Another and longer canal from *Ghent* to *Antwerp* was commenced in 1605, and still remains marked out on some old

* *Antwerp* when in its zenith of prosperity, contained upwards of 200,000 inhabitants.

† The average number of vessels in the port of *Ostend* was about one hundred and fifty, notwithstanding the many restraints she laboured under, before *Josephus the Second* declared her a free port.

maps of that country ; but the opening of the *Scheldt* renders the completion of it now unnecessary.

There are besides these many other beautiful and commodious canals in *Belgium*. The canal to the North, from *Ghent* to *Sluys* or *Eluse* ; and from *Ghent* to *Safs of Ghent* ; likewise to *Hulst* ; and another through the *Scheldt* as far as *Dendermonde*. The canal navigation goes to the south from *Ostend* through *Nieuport* and *Furnes* to *Dunkirk* ; and in the interior parts from *Nieuport* by *Loo* to *Rosbrook* and *Ypres*. *Brussels*, the metropolis of *Belgium*, has a very good bason for the reception of vessels, formed by two branches of the river *Senne* ; and another excellent canal opens a communication for this city with *Holland* and the *North-Sea* : the course of which is by *Wilvorde* to the river *Nâtbe*, and from thence to the *Scheldt*. Other canals are from *Louvain* to *Malines* on the river *Duyle*, which likewise unite with the *Scheldt* ; from *Douai* to *Lille* ; from *Douai* by *Marchienne* to *St. Amand* ; and some others, which tend more to facilitate the intercourse in this rich country than the commodious roads, which, in many parts, are on the side of the canals.

To particularize the former commerce of *Belgium* in every single instance before its union with *France*, would be exceeding the limits of these

letters: I hope you will deem the following sketch sufficient.

The manufactures of the Austrian Netherlands, taken in general, may be reduced to the following heads:

1. Of fine yarn and thread.
2. Of all kinds of fine linen cloth.
3. Of laces.
4. Of woollen cloths.
5. Of silks and cotton goods.
6. Other manufactured goods of different kinds, but less in value, I join all together in one mass. The principal of these are: Tapestry; salt and sugar-refineries; coaches and other carriages, leather, china, and fayence manufactures; paper and play-cards; and numerous fabrics of metal, of which there are iron-manufactories, considerable in extent.

Men of observation have asserted, that the exports of the manufactures of yarn, linen cloth, and laces, amounted annually upon the average to forty-eight millions of livres (2,000,000l. sterling). Others state, that the *Imperial Netherlands* gained yearly on linen cloth and laces*, which

* Very large quantities of laces were formerly sent to India, principally to ornament altars, from 10 to 100 guilders the yard (11. to 101.) which were upwards of 12 inches wide.

they sold to France, twelve millions of livres. They are, indeed, obliged, in a great measure, to their industry for these advantages, but principally to the exquisite flax, which grows in the environs of *Courtray**, which, in fineness and durability, is superior to all other. The spinning and weaving trade likewise supplies another advantage of great consequence, for it gives employment to children as soon as they can work, and habituates them to a regular, active, and domestic way of life.

It is true the woollen manufactures were formerly of much greater consequence than at present. *England*, wisely considering her own interest, has prohibited the export of her highly-valuable wool, of which immense quantities were sent to *Flanders*. The trade in blankets, cloth, camelots, &c. is nevertheless still considerable, although not carried on to such an extent as formerly: when a single city, *Louvain*, contained, in

* Twenty acres of fine flax, when manufactured into the dearest and most proper goods for foreign markets, may in return produce what may be worth 10,000l.; for one ounce of the finest *Flanders* thread has been sold in London for four pounds; and such an ounce made into the finest *Flanders* lace may be sold for forty pounds, which is about ten times the price of standard gold, weight for weight. Such fine thread is spun by small children; whose sensibility of touch is nicer than that of grown-up people, on which account they are capable of spinning such a thread, which is smaller than the finest hair; and one ounce of it is said to reach in length 16,000 yards.

the fourteenth century, four thousand wool-manufactories, which employed one hundred and five thousand weavers. These times are past, but many considerable manufactures * of woollen cloth of every kind are still advantageously carried on, and several cotton manufactures have been established, which derived great advantage from the assistance and wise regulations of *Maria Theresa* and *Joseph the Second*.

I must observe, that the *Brussels* camelots, and other similar light stuffs, were in great request; and the tin-plate and iron-manufacturers, the varnishers, the coachmakers, &c. found a sufficient employment. The gold and silver lace-men in that city, which are considered amongst the most dextrous in *Europe*, not many years ago, calculated that their truck in laces and borders amounted to 600,000 guilders, that is, 50,000l. annually.

It would lead me too far from the object of these letters, were I to give a detail of the commerce of each individual city; it is sufficient,

* *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Brussels*, and other cities in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, still possess considerable manufactures in that line. But to whom are the manufactures at *Veviers*, *Eupen*, *Dison*, *Fracomont*, *Hasselt*, *Hodimont*, *Heinsberg*, *Aisbergh*, *Clermont*, *Montjoie*, and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, unknown? which consume immense quantities of Spanish wool for their fine cloth?

that they are all inhabited by members of the same industrious nation; that they possess in common the like advantageous channels of commerce; and are situated in a soil equally fertile and productive. This valuable country is in strict connection with *Holland* and *Germany*, from whence, on account of her central situation, and by means of her numerous canals and excellent roads, she imports the merchandize and production of these countries at an easy rate. The acquisition of *Liege*, with her rich mines, greatly increases the value of these countries possessed by *France*; and if the produce of them is inadequate to the consumption required; from her close connection with *Westphalia*, she will draw from thence those metals which she wants, either raw or wrought; and this will open a new and copious source to her commerce.

The commerce of *Belgium*, as well as the productions of its soil, is now under the protection of *France* and her marine; this will, therefore, enable her to provide both *Indias*, the united provinces of *America* and other navigable parts of the Globe, not only with linen cloth, the production of her own States, but likewise with other merchandize manufactured in her own dominions; and in the cheap fabrics of *Germany*; for we have no reason to suppose that her modern rulers will, in opposition to their designs, encumber the exportation of these productions with heavy tolls,

as has been the case under the former Government.

The vessels of the Northern countries may for the future load in the open ports in *Belgium*, not only with the merchandize which that country produces, and of which they stand in need, but further also, with a great part of the productions of old *France*. Their voyage is now shorter than formerly. They will likewise import the several goods of the North, which *Belgium* and the Northern part of *France* may require for ship-building; such as hemp, oakum, pitch, deals, masts, poles, &c. (if she cannot be sufficiently supplied with these articles from the countries situated on the *Rhine*), and other important productions of the North, in which she is deficient, and of which, amongst others, pot-ash is an article of the greatest consequence to her manufactures. And can it be supposed that the new possessors of these rich countries will not greatly encourage ship-building on the banks of the rivers *Rhine*, *Maese*, and *Scheldt*?

The Dutch brokerage and spedition commerce is totally ruined by the *fraternal bug*; and the sale of the productions of *British* manufactures will and must be infinitely injured in a very few years.

In fine, *Belgium*, in the powerful and restless hands of *France*, will give to the commerce of

Europe a new direction; it will greatly influence the commerce of *Germany*, and much diminish that of all other nations, some of her own provinces not excepted; it will rapidly enhance the strength of *France* in both *Indias*; and if she cannot fully accomplish her aim in supplanting her most powerful rival, she will undoubtedly possess the satisfaction of limiting his wealth.

I am, &c.

LETTER XI.

DEAR SIR,

LET us now consider the second conquest which *France* has made in the South.

Savoy and *Nice* will bear no comparison with the aggradizement already stated. That such a possession, however united to her, cannot be a matter of indifference to any state, is fully demonstrable. By the natural form of these countries, a great bulwark of high rocks renders a hostile attack upon them both dangerous and difficult. This is surely the case with regard to *Savoy*, now the department *Montblanc*.

It appears from the accounts which *Gregoire* gave of these countries in 1793, that *M. d'Arcon*.

a skilful engineer, demonstrates France to be fully protected by the acquisition of this heretofore Dutchy, by establishing, at a very trifling expence, a few insignificant batteries on the mountains; there would be a sufficient protection against *Piedmont*; and every hostile invasion from that side.—Modern *France* is therefore so much the more invulnerable, and dangerous to foreign nations.

The internal value of this country is not an object of such a trifling nature, that it merited *Gregoire's* indifference.

The cultivation therein, of wheat, rye, oats, barley, millet, maize, and potatoes, is not insignificant; the meadows are excellent; the forests upon the mountains grow timber for the docks, and masts of great value; the wines of *Montmeillan* are in great repute; those of the growth of *Crouet*, *Jean de la Porte*, and *Monteroninox*, are certainly not indifferent; some tracts of the country, principally the environs of *Chambery*, produce exceeding good hemp, which was well known to the manufacturers in *Dauphiné*; and those of *Lions* very well know that *Savoy* supplies very good silks, of which the cultivation has of late years been most advantageously carried on in that country.

The mineral creation has been still less noticed

by Mr. *Gregoire*, or he would have notified to the National Convention, that *Pezay*, *Servoz*, and *Bouvillard*, contain precious mines of leaden ore, which is rich in silver; and that the mines of *Heurtieres* yield copper in abundance; that the rich mine near *Modane* on the river *Arc* produces ore, of which every hundred weight yields 31 lb. of lead; and 6 ounces and 6 grains of standard silver that some mines yield iron of a preferable quality, and others even good tin; and that the environs near *Chambery* discover tracts of pit coal. These mines have been turned to little advantage under the reigns of the Kings of *Sardinia*; indeed it generally happens that the possessions in our own country are too little noticed. The working of those mines were left to French shareholders, who, by not residing on the spot, regarded the purchase of shares in the mines as a speculation; and relied on the good conduct of those who had the superintendance of the works; and were therefore not sufficiently attentive to the accumulation of that wealth which they might have appropriated to themselves. The statement which I have here made is however true, and you may, from it, form an idea of the value which the acquisitions in the South will prove, in the possession of those who will make it their study to draw from thence all that it is capable of yielding. But I have not been able to give a detail, even of more than a fourth part of the natural productions of this country.

Frenchmen are highly addicted to enthusiasm; and these advantageous prospects will afford them sublime reflections for their meditation. They may exultingly cry out, "We have secured the southern part of *France*, by having conquered the highest mountains of *Europe*, and may now look down with arrogance from the most elevated point which the eye is able to reach, on all nethermost mortals!"

This country is therefore not so insignificant as it may be deemed by many who are unacquainted with its interior value. *France* is then come into the possession of a country found more deserving of regard, than, probably, was ever known to its conquerors; and her activity will, indeed, soon appropriate to her own benefit its full estimation.

The addition which *France* has acquired by the province of *Nice* and the territory of *Monaco* is certainly not to be compared with *Savoy* in regard to population; for while the last contained 424,000 souls, the two other were supposed to nourish about 90,000; but they offer to her, notwithstanding, considerable advantages in her *Mediterranean* trade. It is true, the ports of *Villa-Franca*, *Nice*, *Menton*, and *Monaco*, are not large; but every safe port is of infinite value to a great commercial State; because it always affords her vessels a retreat from the enemy, if pursued in

time of war; and shelters, when a tempest threatens them with destruction. *Villa-Franca*, insignificant as her port may be considered, maintains the first rank amongst these four which are here noticed. Her bay, of an elliptical form, is wide, protected by two forts, and contains docks for frigates and galleys. Not long since a fine frigate of 40 guns was built there, and the forts have been garrisoned by five companies of infantry and one of grenadiers, which formerly belonged to the Royal marines of *Sardinia*. The port of *Nice* will contain twenty vessels of different sizes, amongst which those of 300 tons burden are the largest, and anchor with safety; the port of *Villa-Franca* is, however, still preferable for safety. But this place and *Menton* are likewise valuable for excellent oranges and lemons, the production of their environs. Single gardens of only two acres frequently yield to their proprietors upwards of 30l. yearly, by the sale of oranges alone; and *Menton* had even a particular magistracy for the better regulation of the harvest of these fine fruits. This was denominated the *Lemon-Magistracy*, and consisted, according to *Gregoire*, of twenty-seven members. The cultivation of olive trees is not inconsiderable; these yield oil of a fine flavour, and that in abundance. Silk is supposed to return an annual profit of one million of livres. And an excellent and healthy climate has usually induced numerous opulent foreigners to spend the winter in a city, which is highly reputed for its beautiful environs, and the

salubrity of its air. This province is entirely sheltered from the penetrating northern air, by the *Alps*; and at the same time protected against *Piedmont*, from which only two avenues are passable.

France gains therefore by this country, an excellent barricado against *Italy*; nearly 100,000 inhabitants; a protraction of thirteen French leagues, wherein are four sea-ports, with fisheries for sardelles and tunnies; and is enabled to reduce *Sardinia*, already greatly humbled, to an entire dependance on her pleasure.

Consider also that the island of *Corfica* is again in the possession of *France*; and that by the pillage and total annihilation of her sister *Venice*, she has appropriated to herself several convenient and rich islands, which heretofore belonged to that ancient republic; that she has taken possession of the island of *Malta*: this, then, becomes a subject of inquiry; who in future will possess the commerce to the *Levant*?

The *Venetian Levant* islands are not inconsiderable, nor to be overlooked.

The island of *Corfu* * is the barricado of Italy,

* The description of the *Venetian Levant* islands, see MAIERS *Beschreibung von Venedig*. 3ter Theil.

it is 70 leagues long, 30 broad, and in circumference 180; no more than 70 leagues distant from *Italy*, and 60 from *Cape Otranto*. It contains 1 city, 78 towns and villages, and 60,000 inhabitants. The wine which it produces is in high repute; large quantities of salt are manufactured there; it grows oranges and figs of an excellent flavour: its annual production of oil is six million lb. weight.—The island of *Paxo*, in ancient times known by the name of *Ericusa*, is 10 leagues distant from *Corfu*; it is 25 leagues in circumference; it has a very good port called *St. Niccolò*, but its population is very indifferent.—*Antipaxo*, a small island opposite *Paxo*, from which it is separated by a deep canal; its inhabitants are few; it is cultivated by those of *Paxo*, and yields wine, oil, and almonds: it is reported that this island cherishes no poisonous plants and animals; and if any are carried into it, that they will immediately dwindle or die.—The island of *Fanari*, situated at the west of *Corfu*, is 15 leagues from *Agiru*; its soil is fertile, and contains about 500 inhabitants.—The island of *St. Demetrio* contains an hospital and several other public buildings for the use of *Corfu*.—The island of *Sciovotta*, situated in the canal of *Corfu*, is six leagues in circumference.—The island of *Merbera* possesses a fertile soil, and is three leagues in circumference.—The island of *Condilonisi* contains large quarries of stone for buildings, and produces a kind of hard pipe, which the an-

cient inhabitants of *Corfu*, and other Greeks, used for writing.—The island of *Serpe* is a rock in the strait between *Epirus* and *Corfu*.—The island of *St. Vido* or *Vito*, named by the ancients *Pitia*, is situated opposite the city of *Corfu*, and is entirely covered with olive trees, which give it the appearance of a forest rising out of the sea.—All these small islands may be regarded as belonging to *Corfu*, with *Butrinto* or *Butintro*, situated on the continent in *Lower Albania* opposite the island, which was named by the ancients *Butbrotum*; it was once a celebrated city, and is mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ovid*, and *Virgil*, but was destroyed; it is now only a small square fort, garrisoned, but no farther inhabited; for the environs are bogs and morasses; its air is moreover unhealthy. The island is of no other use than for the game, which it furnishes in abundance.—There is likewise another fort, with two bastions, on the continent, named *Parga*, formerly under *Corfu*.

The island of *St. Maura* is 30 leagues long and 16 leagues broad between the islands of *Corfu* and *Cefalonia*; it is the nearest to the continent opposite *Epirus*, with which it has communication by the means of a wooden bridge. It is in general hilly, but notwithstanding, of a fertile soil, and produces corn, oil, wine, oranges, and other fruits. The inhabitants, 20,000 in number, carry on a considerable trade and navigation. The city

Santa Maura, that contains 6,000 souls, is surrounded with high walls, on which are several bastions.

The island of *Cefalonia* is 50 leagues in length, 30 leagues in breadth, and 170 leagues in circumference. It is exceedingly fertile, notwithstanding its being very mountainous. The principal productions are currants, of which 400,000 *migliaja* are annually dried; 80,000 pipes of wine, of which one part is a most excellent muscadel, but the greater part is red; 20,000 pipes of oil; 30,000 quarters of corn; honey, wax, cotton, and all kinds of fruits. Its excellent meadows yield plenty of fragrant herbs; this makes the milk very rich, and renders the cheese of an exquisite flavour; so much is it esteemed, that 150,000 lb. weight is annually exported. There is upon this island 1 city and 202 towns and villages, which contain 50,000 souls. Its ancient names were *Cefso* and *Cephalonia*. The principal port of this island is *Argustoli*, about 6,000 paces * below the city of the same name. On the mouth of this port is a large village named *Luxuri*, the residence of several rich merchants, who carry on a great trade chiefly in dried currants. Another port, named *Pescardi*, is in the east, but useful only to small vessels; it has also several good bays. Opposite this island is another

* See *Ludovici Kaufman's Lexicon umgearbeitet*, and *bey Schedel*, first volume, page 966.

named *Teachi*, or *Little Cefalonia*, which is 50 leagues in circumference, and contains 3,000 souls. *Valtbi*, a large village, has a very commodious port for vessels of all descriptions. The women of this island are reputed beautiful and lively; the men are warlike, and attached to commerce and navigation. According to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, this is the ancient *Ithaca* of *Ulysses*. Modern writers, however, say, that the rock of *Itaro*, which is eight leagues distant from *Teachi*, is the *Ithaca* of *Ulysses*.

The island of *Zante* is 24 leagues long, 19 broad, and 60 in circumference; it contains 1 city, and 47 towns and villages, which are inhabited by 30,000 souls. Its chief production is salt; from numerous salt springs; but it has others of the same kind with the before-mentioned islands. The harvest produces annually, on the average, 30,000 quarters of corn; 20,000 *migliaja* of currants, 10,000 pipes of wine, and 2,000 pipes of oil. *Zante* is the chief city, the seat of the Government and of the Bishop; it is about a mile long, but not so broad: it is situated at the foot of a mountain near the sea: on the mountain is a fort, which protects the island on the Grecian side. Its port is safe, but not commodious. It contains about 18,000 inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are in good circumstances; amongst them are 1,000 Jews, chiefly merchants, who have a synagogue. The houses

in this island are wooden and low, on account of the frequency of earthquakes; for a year seldom passes over without giving it a shock; however they do no great damage. Its net revenue has been 50,000 *sequins* (11,000*l.*)

The *Strivali*, or *Stivali* islands, are two small islands, of which the largest is only four leagues in circumference. They were described by the ancient geographers under the name of *Strofadi* and *Strofades Cyparissorum*: the most remarkable thing is the convent of monks of *St. Basilius*, surrounded by strong walls, and well provided with heavy artillery. They have very good harbours, and produce choice grapes. All these islands are in *Mare Ionio*, or *Ionian Sea*.

The island of *Cerigo* is in *Mare Aegeo*, or *Aegean Sea*, opposite *Cape Malca*, and nearly 60 leagues in circumference. It was formerly known by the name of *Cytherea*. Three-fourths of this island are naked rocks; the remainder, notwithstanding the dryness of the soil, produces exquisite grapes, some oil, and corn, but scarcely sufficient to support the inhabitants; on which account the Venetians formerly called it their *Siberia*, to which they transported their malefactors. The meadows are good, and the want of corn is retrieved, in a great measure, by abundance of cattle, and plenty of game, hares, quails, and wild pidgeons. *Cerigo*, a small city, is situated two leagues from the port of

Dolfino, at the foot of a rock, on which is a citadel, formed by nature exceedingly strong. The Senate of *Venice* projected, in the year 1787, a plan formed by the Procurator *Emo*, for the better population of this salubrious island, and divided the unoccupied part amongst sixty families, who were invited to take their residence there.

The French, beside these islands on the continent in Lower *Albania*, have gotten possession of two places which the Venetians conquered from the Turks; and of which the possession was secured to them in 1718 by the treaty of *Passarowitz*. Both are situated in *Epirus*, in the district of *Arta*; the first is *Prevesa*, a small city, with a port, in the gulph of *Arta*, which is believed to be the ancient city of *Nicopolis*; built by the Emperor *Augustus* after the battle at *Actium*, to commemorate the victory over *Mark Anthony*. The second is *Voniza*, once *Anactoria*, a small fortification, but of some consequence on account of its situation, opposite the island of *Santa Maura*, and near the gulph of *Arta*.

The island of *Malta* *, the late conquest of the French in the *Mediterranean Sea*, is a rock 15 geo-

* See *Bushing's Dictionnaire Géographique*, the 13th volume, page 225.

graphical leagues from Italy, 20,000 paces long, 12,000 paces broad, and 60,000 paces, or 60 Italian miles in circumference. It contains 60,000 souls, but produces no more corn than suffices to maintain one half of that number, a small quantity not equal to their wants; and some cotton, honey, wax, and fruits. The fisheries are considerable, and the corals numerous. Salt is manufactured from sea-water, and exported. The net revenues were 456,000 livres (19,000*l.*)—*Comino* is a fertile island, between *Malta* and *Gozo*, and is 5 Italian miles in circumference. It has a fort that defends the straight which separates it from *Malta*, and is more powerful, being faced by the fort of *Rosò* in *Malta*.—The island of *Gozo*, heretofore named *Gaulos*, is 12 Italian miles long, 6 miles broad, and 30 miles in circumference; it is very fertile, and contains 3,000 souls; the net annual revenues of these two lesser islands has been 150,000 livres (6,250*l.*) It has a modern citadel of 6 bastions, called the fort of *Chambray*.

The acquisition of these islands is highly advantageous, and of the greatest consequence to *France*, not only in respect to *their* revenues and the increase of *her* population, but principally on account of the number of experienced sailors which they will immediately furnish for her navy; because of the increase they will afford to her nursery for seamen; on account of their numerous and excellent ports; and of their situation; which must

indisputably make the empire to which they belong the sole master of the important and lucrative trade of the *Levant*, and likewise of that of the *Mediterranean* *.

The republic and city of *Geneva*, which has been likewise lately joined to *France*, is another valuable addition. Her situation is advantageous; her fortifications are strong, her inhabitants numerous and addicted to industry.

There remain now to be noticed those countries on the left bank of the *Rhine*, of which the French have taken possession, and which, with the consent of *Austria*, *Prussia*, and all the other states of the *German* empire, have been fully ceded to *France* at the congress of *Rastadt*. To give a full detail of all these countries would, in part, be only repeating what has been stated in my former letters; I shall therefore confine myself to the mention of those states which are the principal losers by this carving plan of the *French*: The King of *Prussia*; the Electors of *Mentz*, of *Treves*, and of *Cologne*; the Landgraves of *Hesse-Cassel*, and of *Hesse-Darmstadt*; the Duke of *Wurtemberg*; the States General of *Holland*; the Prince-Bishop of *Liege*; the Prince-Bishop of *Stavelot*, who loses the county of *Logne*, and the Bishopricks of *Stavelot*

* Lord Nelson's victory will, however, make a material alteration in the face of affairs in the *Mediterranean*.

and *Malmedy*; the Bishops of *Spires* and *Worms*; the Order of *Malta*; the Imperial Cities and Republics of *Cologne*, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Spires*, and *Worms*. It can hardly be computed what advantages France will derive to herself, from the aggrandizement of countries so large, so rich, and so populous; especially if we take into the account the additional large rivers already referred to, and the free navigation upon them *.

* The commerce of *France* obtains, by the cession of the left bank of the *Rhine*, uncommon advantages, principally by means of the canals in that country with those in contemplation; whereby merchandize from all the interior parts may be exported by inland water carriage to *Holland*; to the centre of *Germany*; and even to *Hungary*, &c. Of the latter I shall here subjoin a description, from which you will be enabled to form an idea of the consequences.

Mr. *de Louvois* projected a canal, to join the river *Aisne* with the river *Maese* by a cut of six miles, to commence at the village of *Semui*, and be continued up to the river *Bar*. The river *Aisne* joins the river *Oise*, which unites with the *Seine*. The execution of this project would open a new communication with *Holland* by the *Maese*.

The Marshal *de Vauban* offered another project, for the establishment of a canal to join the rivers *Maese* and *Moselle*, exceedingly advantageous to *France*; especially as it may be executed at a small expence, by the aid of two rivulets, one of which joins the river *Moselle* at the city of *Toul*, in the Dutchy of *Lorraine*, and the other unites with the river *Maese*, near the village of *Pagny*. The execution of this plan would open an immense communication by water; for the river *Moselle* unites with the river *Rhine*; and several other considerable rivers in *Germany* join the same river, and thereby communi-

There is still existing an incorrect map of *France*, but which expresses a great deal, under the description of, *Le Royaume de France, & les conquêtes de Louis le grand*. In this map are en-

communicate with the interior of *Germany* as the *Dutch* canals do with all *Holland*.

Several other plans have been formed for the construction of canals, which would, in fact, complete all that could be executed for the universal opulence of *France*—the junction of the rivers *Seine* and *Rhone* by the river *Doubs*, the confluence of which is in the *Seine*. The river *Soane* is united with the river *Loire*; and the execution of this plan would open an interior communication by water through the whole of *France* from the *Mediterranean Sea*, the *Bay of Biscay*, and the *British Channel*, into the centre of *Germany*, *Holland*, and the *Netherlands*.—The preference given to the river *Doubs* over the river *Moselle* would obviate all inconveniences, and open the shortest and most direct correspondence between the different parts of *France*, and the foreign circumjacent countries; it would even extend the interior navigation, by a junction with the river *Danube* to the extremities of *Europe*. The canal of *Burgundy*, to which this last being re-united, would become, as it were, LA VEINE PULMONAIRE DE LA FRANCE. It is with these canals and conjunctions, if we regard them *physiognomically*, as with the blood, when forced with vigour into an infinity of other vessels, it will carry into every part of the body life and health.

The canal of *Burgundy*, which is well known, communicates from the *Mediterranean Sea*, with the *Bay of Biscay*, by the rivers *Rhone* and *Saone*, by the canal itself, and by the river *Loire*. Through the *Loire* it unites with the canals of *Briare* and *Orleans*, by which means it gets a second communication with the *Mediterranean Sea*; and by the river *Seine*, and the new canal of *Normandy*, begun in the year 1792, two communications in different directions will be effected with the *British Channel*; and farther also by the rivers *Seine*, *Lis*, and *Scheldt*, and the numerous canals and navigable rivers

compassed all places which that King had conquered, of which many have been returned on the restoration of peace. It is, indeed, singular, that

in *Holland* and the *Netherlands*, a communication might be made with the North-sea; which communication from the rivers *Rhone* and *Saone* will be much shortened by the last-mentioned projected new canal.

The river *Soane* unites with the river *Doubs*, at the small city of *Verdun*, in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*; and it will not be attended with much expence to make the river *Doubs* navigable; which must be done from its confluence with the *Saone* to the cities of *Saint-Ursanne*, or *Porentru*, in the Bishoprick of *Basle*; a course of 150 miles. A canal must be made at the head of the river *Birfe*, which is only three or four miles distant.

The *Birfe*, from its head to its confluence with the river *Rhine*, at the city of *Basle*, is about 25 miles, which might be made navigable from the city of *Brisach*, in the province of *Brisgau* on the *Rhine*, to the head of the river *Danube* *, near *Sunberg*, in the province of *Suabia*.

A canal of about 30 miles only is wanting to accomplish this grand junction, by which *France* would obtain, from its centre, an interior communication by water, uninterrupted by maritime wars, into the centre of *Germany*, into *Hungary*, to the *Black Sea*, and *Turkey* in *Europe*, which are the eastern extremities of *Europe*. Join to this the principal navigable rivers which unite with the *Rhine*, and you may conceive what immense advantages she acquires by having that river for her boundaries.

* The river *Danube*, from its head to the free and Imperial city of *Ulm*, is about 84 miles, where it commences to be navigable. The principal cities of *Germany* on its borders are, *Ulm*, *Donauwert*, *Ingolstadt*, *Ratisbon*, *Straubingen*, *Ortenburgh*, *Passau*, and *Ilstadt*, where it is joined by the *Inn*, a large and navigable river, which passes through the cities of *Linz*, *Ens*, and *Vienna*, and enters the kingdom of *Hungary*, near to the city of *Presburgh*.

on this map the whole of *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Nice*, has been encompassed as pertaining to *France*: This map gives a hint of the views of *France* even at that time. Even the Republick of *Geneva*, and the *Montbelliard* of *Wurtemberg* are Frenchified on this map. Something rather ominous !

This proud conqueror, who is now so much the victim of democratic abuse, but without whom the French would be actually stript of power, did not, however, attempt to overturn the equilibrium of *Europe* in such a daring and contumelious manner as the modern usurpers have done. He did not give *France* such a preponderance over all other States ; nor ever discovered an inclination to accomplish it, by such infamous means as at the expence of his own allies, or of States who were with him on terms of amity. In his character there was always something great and noble, notwithstanding his desire after, and passion for, conquests. In the present declaimers on the rights of man, not a trace of generosity is to be found. To corroborate this assertion, I need only refer you to my former statement of the means by which the conquests in Italy have been acquired. Let us make some estimate of their recent acquisitions, by bringing them into one aggregate.

In point of situation, they are not far remote one from each other ; the extensive, the highly

cultivated, the populous, fertile, and concentrated state of France, has seized only such countries as she could easily unite to herself, and such as form the strongest bulwark against the invasion of foreign enemies: these are inhabited by 5 millions* of industrious people, who deliver up to her in part those productions of which heretofore she stood in need; and in two opposite directions, secure to her the most considerable share of the trade of Europe.

Other sources of gain, not immediately arising from these new acquisitions, are still apparent. These, at first sight, may be disregarded, but they are very productive. A review of them I shall submit to your consideration in my next letter.

* An enumeration of the inhabitants in the new *European* acquisitions of *France*.

In the <i>Austrian Netherlands</i>	—	—	—	1,900,000
<i>Savoy</i>	—	—	—	424,000
<i>Nice and Monaco</i>	—	—	—	90,000
<i>Corfica</i>	—	—	—	140,000
<i>Malta, Comingo, and Gozo</i>	—	—	—	66,000
<i>The Venetian Levant Islands, &c.</i>	—	—	—	180,000
<i>Geneva</i>	—	—	—	30,000
All the other countries on the left bank of the <i>Rhine</i>				2,170,000

Total 5,000,000

The clear revenues which will go from those countries on the left bank of the *Rhine* to *France* annually, is computed at 60 millions of livres (250,000l.)

I am, &c.

LETTER XII.

DEAR SIR,

IN my last I promised to lay before you those springs of wealth which *France* has usurped, and which she possesses over and above such as have been already enumerated.

Not many persons may be ready to admit, that the collection of the fine arts which she pillaged in *Italy*, will cause an annual influx into *Paris* of 12 millions of livres (500,000*l.*) But the truth of this assertion is borne out by the greatest probability.

Experience has fully proved, that Rome was the occasional residence of about 10,000 artists, who, from the different countries in Europe, repaired to that city to perfect themselves in their various branches, by studying the works of ancient and modern masters. Suppose we stipulate their number, upon an average, at from six to seven thousand; and as, with economy, residence in Rome was by no means expensive, we allow each person no more than 60*l.* per annum, the amount will be 400,000*l.*

Of opulent English travellers, who spent, on the average, at least, 100l. per month, there have been sometimes from 100 to 150. Let us put down their number at 100, and make their stay four months in the year, their expenditure will amount to 40,000l.

This statement is certainly not overrated; for many of those visitors spent much more than has been suggested, in opposition to others who were not accustomed to reside the space of four months. How many *virtuosos* likewise resided for a time in the other cities of Italy, *Bologna, Parma, Venice, &c.* In the computation I have made, Florence and Naples have been omitted, as well as the many thousand foreigners who poured into the principal cities of Italy at such times only when high solemnities were celebrated. In this respect also Italy will be a great loser.—I have likewise passed on without noticing the *litterati*, who were accustomed to visit Italy for the purpose of examining its costly libraries, now despoiled of their scarce books and invaluable manuscripts.

I do not mean to assert, that in future no foreigner will be induced to visit Italy, because she has been robbed of the best productions of the arts. The greatest monuments of antiquity could not be carried off by the unlawful plunderers. The valuable *frescos*, and many other excellent works, are still remaining. But rarities of inesti-

mable value, which once excited the admiration of strangers, and drew them to *Italy*, are now dragged to *Paris*: and I am convinced, that the 12 millions of livres, already computed to be the loss that *Italy* will sustain, is greatly underrated: and we may, without exaggeration, calculate the gain that *Paris* will derive from the shameful plunder, at 6 millions of livres (250,000*l.*) annually.

These are some of the advantages which France will experience on the return of peace and tranquillity. The statement you will be induced to credit as probable; I think that it will eventually turn out to be a true one.

I am, &c.

LETTER XIII.

DEAR SIR,

THE lucrative commerce to which I alluded in a former letter, has, indeed, disappeared for some time; but there seems to be no doubt from the late negotiation at Lisle, that *England* is disposed to put *France* in possession of her former *West-India* colonies, if by so doing a secure and lasting peace could be accomplished for herself and all

Europe. We may expect that this condition will form a principal article in a future treaty of peace; and, should the other *European* powers rest contented with their dangerous situation, and leave such an overbalance of weight on the Continent in the hands of the French, the latter will *insist* upon this preliminary step.

But has not *France* acquired, by the late peace with *Spain*, the entire possession of the whole island of *St. Domingo*? Let us therefore attentively appreciate the value of this valuable acquisition.

That part of *St. Domingo* which belonged to France before the revolution did not contain 9,000 English square miles. The whole island contains 30,000 * English square miles; the addition therefore of 21,000 miles of fertile soil, with mines of gold, talk, and crystal, certainly merits consideration.

This small, western part of the island, notwithstanding, † made an annual return to *France* of

* 30,000 square miles, according to the new map of *St. Domingo*, published in 1796 in London by Mr. Faden. The circumference of this island, given by former maps, is 36,000 square miles.

† There were, in 1775, in the French part of *St. Domingo*, 385 sugar mills for raw sugars, and 263 mills and refining houses

125 million lb. of sugar, upon an average; 50 million lb. of coffee; 2 million lb. of rich indigo;

to make *Terré** sugars; 2587 indigo plantations; 14,018,436 cotton plants; 92,893,405 coffee trees; 757,691 cacao trees, which

* *Terré* sugars are refined sugars, which the planters were obliged to manufacture for the want of sufficient vessels to export the raw sugars. About 3 lb. raw sugars produce 1 lb. of *Terré* sugars.

The plains of this island are surrounded by steep mountains, many of which, principally those who have a chalky soil, are filled with acajou trees, (*Anacardium occidentale*,) cedar-trees, rose-trees, iron-wood, (*lignum ferri* and *sideroxyloides ferreum*,) guajac-wood, and other firm and valuable wood. The others grow the wild fig-tree, the soap-tree, acacia, the *cassia* tree, the mountain sugar-cane, different kind of Palm-trees, bignonien wood (*bignonia catalpa* Linn.) and several other kinds of white wood which are not fit for timber; plenty of jalappe, and a kind of fern which the negroes smook like tobacco. In the plains grow manglo-trees, *Gymnorhiza*; *Cascolaris* Linn, of which are white, red and black; *Arundo bambos* Linn. *Acbras sapota* Linn. cabbage-tree, elms, oak, and firs. It produces also bananas, pine-apples, oranges, lemons, citrons, limes, grapes, figs, dates, and apricots. In the *Savannas*, or meadows, the horned cattle are plentiful, and run about wild; these the hunters shoot on account of the value of their hides. Horses in the French part are numerous, sufficient to provide all the neighbouring colonies: there are likewise a prodigious number of wild hogs and horses. The rivers are full of fish, and the coasts full of turtles. In the rivers gold sand is found. Of the mineral creation, *St. Domingo* is not devoid. There are to be found many copper and iron mines, and likewise massive iron, and hills of magnet-stones. The culture of the French colonies could bear an increase of one-fourth, if the planters were better provided with negroes, of which the importation in foreign vessels was prohibited under a great penalty. However, since the 30th of August, 1785, they were permitted to import for sale in *St. Domingo* into three ports, *Port-au-prince*, *Cap-François*, and *Cayes St. Louis*, in vessels, at least, of sixty tons; wood of all kind, and even dyer's wood; live cattle of all kind; salt beef, but no salt pork; all kinds of salt fish; rice, maize, pulse, hides, furs, rosin, and pitch: but they were permitted to export molasses, taffia, rum, and French-manufactured goods only. The situation of this island is highly favourable to the commerce with the Spanish colonies, with which a considerable smuggling trade has been most advantageously carried on.

7 million lb. of cotton; 600,000 lb. of cocoa; 1 million lb. of dyers wood; 15,000 hides; some orlean, cassia, tortoise-shell, &c.; and large quantities of taffia, and molasses.

The rich and fertile country in *St. Domingo* which *France* has added to her dominions, was totally neglected when possessed by *Spain*, whose foreign possessions are so numerous that she is not able to make a proper use, or cultivate any of them to the best advantage; the richest plains lie therefore in waste. I am convinced that such is the active spirit of Frenchmen, that they will enlarge the productions of this island, and turn their abundance to a very good account; they will cultivate the many valuable salt works therein; they will probably open again and work the gold mines of *Cibao*, which formerly produced 460,000 dollars (103,500l.) annually. They will take a farther advantage of the situation of this island, and endeavour to increase the smuggling trade with

which employed 32,650 whites of both sexes; 6,036 mulattos, or free negroes; and 300,000 negro slaves. The produce of *St. Domingo* was, in 1787, 58,182,403 lb. white or *terré* sugar; 72,898,676 lb. raw or brown sugar; 70,003,161 lb. coffee; 6,806,714 lb. cotton; 1,166,177 lb. indigo, &c. The value of the importation into *St. Domingo* from *France* amounted in the same year to 150,023,627 livres, (6,250,985l.); and of the exportation for *France*, to 159,130,797 livres, (6,630,450l.); in the same year was exported, in gold and silver, 2,600,000 livres, (about 110,000l.)

South America, which produces a considerable gain. They will, in a few years, not only cover with numerous fleets the beautiful ports of this island, but likewise the large bays of the peninsula * of *Samana*; and the possession of this excellent island may enable them to engross the commerce of all the *West-India* Islands.

I flatter myself, Sir, that you will now acknowledge these statements to be convincing, and that *France*, should she be suffered to retain her seizures, will, in a few years, be a state highly dangerous to every other *European* power. To counteract which, the latter must immediately and sincerely unite all their strength, or sink for ever in one common ruin.—And woe be to those *European* Monarchs who suffer themselves to be lulled asleep by flattering assertions! † —Woe be to those who are not yet apprehensive of their danger! of a danger really existing; that not only

* *France* formerly employed 347 large trading vessels, and kept them constantly engaged in carrying the productions of her part of *St. Domingo*.

Samana is a peninsula, and not an island, as has been marked in several bad maps. *Tortue* is an island about one mile from *St. Domingo*, the produce thereof, and of a few islands belonging to *St. Domingo*, is of about 1,500,000 livres in value (62,500*l.*)

† Most likely by promises to the Court of *B-r-l-n*, of an aggrandizement in the North, and the change of *M-ckl-nb-rg* for *West-phalia* to the present Duke of that country.

threatens the subversion of their thrones, but should they retain their sceptres, experience may teach them, that, in alliance with the French Directory, the possession of them will be insecure ! Even this favour will be a scanty one, for they and their subjects must become indirect slaves to *France*, and constant contributors to her grandeur and elevation ! Is it possible that they can expect any thing else, from what they have already witnessed, in the acts of her infant state ?

These are assertions founded upon what we have seen and heard ; they challenge confutation ; and if *France* is permitted to accomplish her designs ; designs, of which, in the height of her successes, she made an open avowal, it will only depend on herself to secure a complete independence of all other parts of *Europe*, which she will cut and carve in a greater degree than she has already done ; and, certainly, she does not want activity to accomplish her purpose.

Consider what I have stated, and you must be convinced, that the necessity of carrying on the war is not only obvious, because the French have rejected the offer of making an honourable peace ; but upon other grounds ;—it is unavoidable.—Your own self-preservation, the maintenance of your glorious constitution, which has till now secured to you the uninterrupted possession of all the property you have been able to acquire by

your skill, industry, and laudable speculations in commerce are involved in the prosecution of it. The wisdom of Ministry is to be commended for that foresight which took care, as far as circumstances would permit, that you should not be deprived of the prerogatives which you, above all other nations, enjoy; and to which you are so justly entitled; by concluding a premature and unstable, and, for that reason, an ignominious peace. This delay has, at least, afforded time to other powers for reflection; it has opened their eyes; they see the brink of a precipice upon which they closely stand.—It is to be hoped that they will not take leave of their judgement, and continue to grasp after shadows, or to pay attention to those false colours, which may be presented in order to dazzle and bewilder their senses.

Should you be led to doubt the validity of what I have with so much freedom asserted, my next letter will, I flatter myself, remove your doubts, and carry conviction home to your bosom.

For the present, I beg leave to remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIV.

DEAR SIR,

YOU may, in answer to my last, reply, that France, when once again in possession of an established and regular government, may, from an ardent desire of peace and tranquillity, be induced to restore a considerable part of her acquired territory. But of such an event taking place, the prospect is distant. No peace can be effected upon terms of security, so long as the affairs of *Europe* remain in the situation they do at present.

Allowing, for a moment, that the Royalists do ultimately succeed in re-establishing Monarchy in *France*, and that a great part of the emigrants return to their native country, can it be supposed that these men would venture to advise the restoration of a part of its conquests? Are not these very emigrants Frenchmen, who cannot behold the increased power of France with an eye of indifference? On the contrary, their hearts will be ready to declare, that this aggrandizement of power, and these new sources of wealth, have been acquired by French blood; and if many of them

were unjustly wrested from foreign empires, they were purchased at the expence of their native country; they will not therefore be over anxious to restore what was obtained at so dear a rate. I entertain no doubts in my own mind, that such are the genuine sentiments of the majority of the emigrants.

But should the Republic remain erect for a still longer time, and in her own way acquire more order and strength, of restoration ideas will not occur. Do we not know that, in ancient times, Republics were more addicted to pride, more characterized for inflexibility, and were more rapacious than Monarchies?

The rulers of the French Republic are so numerous, and so desirous are they to take care of themselves*, that it is most likely they will usuriously exact enormous demands from those territories which have been obligated to submit to the grasp of their unjust authority. On which account they will be so much the more averse to the idea of giving up any thing of their prey. I confess, that to me it appears not at all improbable, that even the emigrants will encourage the rulers

* A fresh proof of this has lately occurred. The two French Councils of 750 decreed to themselves an increase of salaries for their private use.

of France in such a resolution, merely with the hope of sharing the plunder; in which, should they succeed, they may be induced to regard it as a just indemnification for the losses they sustained by emigrating.

That the French will endeavour to avail themselves of the utmost advantages which their acquired property will afford, there is not a shadow of doubt. Experience has already given sufficient proofs of that. After the downfall of Robespierre, the deeds of the succeeding rulers, at first sight, opened to the view a brighter prospect. But the dawn was soon overcast, and clouds again darkened the horizon. It was after the fall of this sanguinary tyrant that the more tranquil, and, by many considered, the more moderate government, substituted in the place of equity, those scandalous proceedings, and that system of depredation and robbery which I have had occasion to enumerate in my former letters. The men of which it consisted have violated the laws of justice in their own country. These have deprived the Swiss of their government, property, and comfort: and these have robbed and plundered all their allies, and those whom they styled their friends.

From these preliminary proofs we may anticipate the future conduct of the French.

Unless all things wear a deceitful garb, we can

expect nothing less than a horrid perversion of the gigantic power of France, in her conduct towards all the other states of *Europe*; at least so long as the present government of that country exists. In all the changes, through which it has passed, since the murder of Louis the Sixteenth, the conduct of the French, towards foreign countries, have continued the same. Monarchies and Republics have experienced from them the same marks of contempt, and have been equally despised: they have even acted in a similar manner to their friends.

To prove this assertion, I need not desire you to look at the behaviour of the French to the Sovereigns on the banks of the *Rhine*, in *Franconia*, *Wurtemberg*, and *Suabia*: I have no occasion to direct your attention to those scandalous plays performed at the theatre of Paris*—a crime of which no civilized nation upon earth was before accused. I will not awaken your recollection of their conduct towards *Venice*, *Rome*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Switzerland*.

But I would remind you of the ill-bred speech that was made by the French to the Swedish Am-

* The two lowest plays ever performed in any part of the civilized world were: 1st, *Le Jugement des Rois, &c. par Silvaire Marechal. Paris, L'an Second de la Republic.* 2dly, *Les Folies de George. Paris.* The representation of these plays continues still to be permitted.

bassador, of their incredible proceedings against the *Prussian* dominions beyond the *Rhine*, and that too after the peace with *Prussia* was concluded; of their insolent behaviour towards *Switzerland*, *Hamburgh*, *Tuscany*, and *America*; and of their perseverance in demanding an oath of hatred to Monarchs, notwithstanding their having concluded peace with five crowned heads*, and several sovereign Princes, and being in alliance with two Kings!! All this clearly demonstrates, that these new republicans are totally devoid of respect either for friend or foe, and that every one who refuses immediate submission to their treacherous schemes and exorbitant demands is treated with rigour and injustice: they have, moreover, dared to shew their vulgar arrogance to the remotest states, and that too without the least provocation.

Who could suppose that there should remain a single Monarch inclined to place any faith in such friends and allies? A single one, who can hesitate to unite with fortitude and resolution, his strength to check the violence of usurped power, to stop the lawless excesses of depredation and plunder, and to

* Peace was concluded with the *Emperor*; the Kings of *Spain*, of *Prussia*, of *Sardinia*, of *Sicily*; the *Elect*or of *Saxony*; the *Grand Duke* of *Tuscany*; the *Dukes* of *Wurtemburgh* and *Bavaria*; and the *Landgrave* of *Hesse-Cassel*, &c. The Kings with whom they are in alliance, are those of *Denmark* and *Sweden*.

re-establish, if it be possible, the common safety of all—the peace and tranquillity of *Europe*?

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XV.

DEAR SIR,

I Cannot finish the picture that I have drawn, of the political situation of Europe, without reminding you and the inhabitants of Great Britain, that your commerce is the object of French envy and peculation. Great Britain, it is the ardent wish of France, to humble; her trade it is her aim to destroy. She longs to undermine your happiness; she has exerted every nerve to annihilate your trade. But her efforts and desires have been at variance, or a good Providence has interposed in behalf of England.

In the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth a systematic plan was laid for the aggrandizement of *France*, and the diminution of the power of *Eng-*

land; on the feasibility of that plan, there was but one mind; but concerning the means whereby it was to be effected, two violent factions sprung up. The first was for obtaining their object, by acquiring an ascendancy on the Continent: the latter, which ultimately proved the most powerful, wished France to direct her attention solely to the augmentation of her marine; to encourage an increase of commerce; to engage the maritime nations of *Europe* in her interests; and by so doing, to undermine the energy of England upon her own element. The latter faction contended, that it was England which deranged the whole continental system of Europe; and that if she were disabled, the powers of the Continent would fall into their due subordination. This party, it appears, has acted uniformly on this principle, from its first establishment down to the present moment. Their object, till the revolution, was but faintly discovered; but it is now self-evident, and admits of no inquiry. Whether the friends of monarchy, the inventors of the guillotine and pike, or the moderates, held the reigns of government in France, this object, as a ruling principle, was pursued by all. They had flattered themselves with success, and were actually endeavouring to shut us out of the Mediterranean. *Holland, Spain, Sardinia, Sicily*, and the European ports in *Italy*, had fallen into the vortex of French power, and the two first were engaged in a war with us for the destruction of

our navy and commerce. They aimed at the destruction of our Levant trade, and carried their views of devastation beyond the conception of moderate capacities. But in one moment these illusions vanished, and one decisive victory has been of the most important service to England, and has extended its beneficial consequences to all those powers which were subjugated to the will of France—I allude to Lord Nelson's victory off the mouth of the Nile. The face of affairs since that glorious event has assumed a different aspect; and, should a firm, manly, and a united coalition, be formed of the great Continental powers, the French may yet be stopped in their career, and taught to respect those "*Rights of Man*," which their philosophy has instructed them to violate in all its parts.

There never occurred an object of equal importance, nor one that demanded more the serious consideration of the British Government, and of every individual in this country, than the present conflict with France. The rulers of that country, during the republican system of its government have invariably held out, and the present oligarchy avow, that their principal views are directed to the destruction of the British commerce and manufactures—"Peace with the whole world; but war with England, until she is ruined, by the destruction of her trade, until

her merchants are become bankrupts, and her national importance is fallen!!”

This is the language of the French Directory.

And if to what has been said we consider the fruitful soil of *France*, her progress in husbandry, her numerous production of all kinds; the cheapness of the necessaries of life in that country, and the low rate of manual labour, so much facilitated by inland water carriage—if we reflect on the allurements which are held out to artificers, and men of property, to settle in *France*, and the consequent increase of her manufactures, upon the return of peace—These, among others, are great advantages; indeed they are of such magnitude as will give to *France*, placed in the centre of *Europe*, a power not to be resisted. If then *France* is suffered, with all these internal advantages, to retain the possession of what she has acquired during the war, the consequence will eventually prove fatal to the whole of *Europe*.

The expences of the war, therefore, however burdensome to Great Britain, ought to be regarded in no other light than as prudently and necessarily incurred for her self-preservation. It is to be hoped, that by her active energy and internal union of sentiment, she will be enabled

to defeat the designs of the enemy, keep possession of that preponderance in the scale of Europe which she has hitherto possessed, and cast her mantle over those defenceless States which must otherwise fall a prey to French tyranny and French despotism.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Westminster,
Dec. 12, 1798.

Yours sincerely.

FINIS.

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